THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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1930-1931

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New York
1965

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Printed in the United States of America

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV SEPTEMBER, 1930 No. 1

EDITORIAL

Much attention has been given in the literature of recent years to the marked changes in our material culture and scientific progress and the corresponding lag in change in our nonmaterial culture; namely, customs, institutions, folkways, and the like.

Perhaps in no field of our endeavor has there been more change than in that of economics and politics. It is, therefore, particularly pertinent to devote this issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY to a study of economics and education. These papers have been presented in connection with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology and some of them have been presented at their meetings. Unfortunately, the space at our disposal in the September number makes it impossible to include all of the material and therefore it will have to be distributed in later numbers. The papers have been prepared by leaders in the field and bear directly upon the problem of education in its fundamental aspects.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is fortunate in presenting these papers and is happy to coöperate with the National Society which has made THE JOURNAL its official organ.

PLANNING FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS

L. C. MARSHALL

The merest glance at the papers in this symposium shows that they raise the fundamental issue: *Can we plan our economic progress?* A more detailed reading of them reveals something of the staggering character of the problems which are raised in attempting to answer such a question affirmatively.

If one inquires—and this I have been asked to do—how our educational system is to be of service in such a connection, an almost unlimited field opens up before one. In the interests of brevity I shall content myself with alleging, without argument, two propositions. The first is that the economic aspects of this matter cannot wisely be considered as separate and distinct from the rest of the social structure. There is, after all, no such thing as an economic order. To speak of an economic order is merely to take a specialized point of view towards the whole social order. The second is that our educational system has up to the present time been too greatly concerned with surface manifestations of the social order. It has interested itself with "problems of the day" and with "the institutional life" of our society. It is right and proper that these matters should have absorbed much of our attention. But the time has come when they ought to be considered in the larger setting of the part they play in the "basic processes" of society.

While I have no intention of arguing the position just taken, it may be worth while to illustrate it by calling attention to the paper on the educational system which is emerging in Soviet Russia. There, so the paper indicates, the "problems of the day" are not in large part the problems which we talk of, and the institutional life is certainly markedly different. The educational system of that coun-

try is attempting to strike deeper than these surface matters and to deal with those underlying processes which are common to all modern societies, no matter what their more ephemeral problems and institutions may be.

The papers in this symposium assume that it is desirable to make a *conscious* effort to equip the oncoming generations to play their part in an *evolving* economic society. What are the basic processes of social living which the oncoming generations must understand, if they are to play this part intelligently?[1]

The following numbered paragraphs represent one possible way—it is only one way—of stating the essential processes of social living.

1. *The process of the continuance of the group, biologically speaking.* Connected with this process there are many "problems of the day" and many "institutions," said problems and institutions varying from time to time and from group to group.

In order to give specific content to the foregoing a few of the "problems of the day" are listed: eugenics, public health, race suicide, birth control, form of family, infant mortality. And a few of the "institutions" affected are listed: family, public-health service, educational system.

2. *The process of the continuance of the group, culturally speaking*—the transmission of culture. As a matter of convenience in arrangement this may be made to include: the accumulation of culture, the conservation of culture, the change of culture, the selection of culture—or some of these may be factored out and listed elsewhere. In either event, connected herewith are many "problems of the day" and many "institutions," said problems and institutions varying from time to time and from group to group.

A few of the problems are: propaganda, elevating the press, improving the schools, improving the family, stimulating invention, improving communication between nations and other groups. A few of the institutions are: family, church, school, gang, the press, language, government.

3. *The process of developing or establishing "value standards" or "norms"* for the group (including value standards with respect to the

[1] A separable question is this: How shall we state these basic processes (assuming we can find them) for reading and for use by teachers, school administrators, text writers, and others? With this question I am not now concerned.

Another separable question is this: How shall instructional material be organized and how shall schools be managed so as most effectively to give the oncoming generations the desired understanding of social processes (assuming we can find them)? With this question I am not now concerned.

relationship of the group to the individual and with respect to the relationship of individual to individual). This includes "conscious" as well as "unconscious" development of value standards; it includes value standards on "important" and on "unimportant" matters; it extends to the areas of small groups and subgroups.

A few of the problems are: establishing codes of ethics for special groups, determining the "proper" function of private property, improving our attitudes on consumption of wealth, establishing attitudes on the "place" of competition, "good" manners, international labor standards, the making of laws, freedom of the press. A few of the institutions and devices are: public discussion, educational system, church, family, legislature, gang, association of university professors, research institutions in social science, the press.

4. *The process of enforcing a (minimum) conformity* (by the members of the group) to certain minimum standards or norms. This calls for interpreting agencies, adjudicating agencies, enforcing agencies, etc. Bulking large in current discussions are such matters as the courts, the government, the police. This emphasis upon governmental agencies should not cause us to overlook similar operations by the head of the family, by the trade union, by the gang, by the business executive, and by countless others. Nor should it conceal the operations of habit, custom, imitation, emulation, whatnot. Presumably, it is self-evident that it will be necessary to determine the *areas* in which conformity will be demanded, and also the *extent* of the conformity within those areas.

A few of the problems are: crime, regulation of child labor, enforcement of contracts, prohibition, control of opium traffic, theft of private property, prostitution, enforcing good manners in the home, "bumping off" the gangster who kicks over the traces. A few of the institutions and devices are: drum head court martial, the courts, the police, boycott, the strike, social commendation or opprobrium, imitation, custom.

5. *The process of maintaining the "requisite group integrity"* so that the life of the group may be lived. In some cases this means a small group, in other cases a nation, in other cases an international arrangement. A given individual may belong to several such groups. What will be "requisite" in the matter of group integrity will vary from time to time, from issue to issue, and from group to group.

Among the problems are: the division of functions between State and Federal government, the wisdom of entering the League of Nations, maintenance of the home, the mine check-off system of paying labor union dues, the tendency of institutional groups to outlive their usefulness, restriction of immigration. Among the institutions and devices are: "anti-alien" regulations of all kinds, patriotism, geographical units of government, Catholic Church, Army and Navy.

6. Since "the group" and "the individual" are complementary, *there is the process of arranging for or fixing "the place of the individual."* This is equally true under a caste system, under communism, despotism, or any other ism.

But in the interests of brevity, let us for the moment assume the "individual" to be the goal of our thinking—let us assume the desirability of the "democratic" outlook. Under this assumption, the process now under consideration becomes that of "securing the basis for sturdy individualism." This will involve (doubtless among other things):

a) Conferring the sound biological basis. *Vide* discussions of eugenics, inheritance of acquired characters, etc.
b) Establishing the social minimum of opportunity. *Vide* discussions of social legislation, minimum wage, equality before the law debtors, exemption acts, the providing of information concerning opportunities ranging from vocational guidance to publicity concerning profits, part of the motivation problem, property "for use," real versus nominal freedom.
c) Conferring the "desired" "attitudes" and " norms" and "abilities" upon the individual.
d) Securing effective motivation of the individual.
e) The whole issue of who are "persons" for given purposes and what is to be done about it. What kind of a "person" is a Negro? A woman? An unskilled worker?

7. *The process of making available economic goods* (both wealth and services). This process must be carried out by all groups from the collectional savage group to industrial America, but for brevity, let us think for the moment in terms of our current life.

There are involved: (a) technological or "engineering" considerations, and here is part of the reason why the social studies must consort with the physical and biological sciences; (b) considerations having to do with the "social organization" which has come into existence for the purpose at issue.

In any economic group (and hence in our own society) there are certain great economic processes which must be performed.

a) In one way or another it will be decided what to produce and how much to produce.
b) In one way or another the group will be organized to do this work—the social energy of the group will be apportioned among the tasks—and the work will be supervised.
c) In one way or another the product of the group (and this includes not only food, clothing, and shelter but all sorts of other things such as education, medical service, or recreation) will be divided up among the members of society.
d) In one way or another the size and composition of the population will be determined and it will be distributed over the natural and cultural areas of the community.
e) With respect to all these processes there will develop institutional settings in which they will be accomplished. In particular there will develop group codes or standards.

Presumably it is not necessary to cite problems of the day or institutions and devices.

8. *The process of the organization and administration of the instruments of the social will*—the process of providing the (changing) institutions, mechanisms, devices, whatnot, through which the other processes may be worked out. This statement is meant to include ongoing devising of ever more effective instrumentalities—more effective in their response to social and individual needs and more effective in and of themselves in performing their particular tasks. As examples of the range of things involved in this process the following are cited:

a) Determining of the "sphere" of each such agency; determining its objective and its appropriate area of action.
b) Working out and setting up the organization of each such agency.
c) Operating each such agency.

If we assume a "democratic" outlook with reliance upon "representative" methods in both policy formation and execution, there is contained within this eighth process (in government, in business, in whatnot) the tasks of:

a) Determining the area or scope or field of presentation as compared with direct handling.
b) Determining the plan or basis of representation and the methods of selecting representatives.
c) Determining methods to be followed by representatives.
d) Keeping representatives responsive and responsible to the basic group—keeping control of representatives.

The foregoing admittedly fragmentary outline[2] shows something of the magnitude of the task which confronts those who would plan our economic progress. It goes without saying that our forward movement in this respect will be a matter of particular progress at particular times under particular circumstances. But it is helpful to reflect upon the problem as a whole, and the outstanding service of the papers in this group is that they stimulate this reflection, and at the same time they deal with specific problems.

[2] If desired, the process of shaping the individual may be given separate standing (but see number 6); and if this is done it will cover biological inheritance, cultural inheritance, physiological manipulations, psychological manipulations, etc., not overlooking his motivation.

If desired, the process of adjusting population to the natural and cultural resources of regions of the earth may be given separate standing or it may be included under number 7.

If desired, government might be taken up for special analysis, but there is nothing either peculiar or sacred about government. It is merely an agency.

If desired, separate treatment could be worked out in "local," "municipal," "national," "racial," or "international" terms, but there seems no substantial reason for relying upon this classification as a major basis of organizing the presentation of social processes.

LABOR AND EDUCATION

WILLIAM GREEN

Labor has always attached a special importance to education and we are proud of the important part we had in establishing our public-school system, securing compulsory school attendance laws, providing vocational education, and pointing the way to adult education.

Education, Labor realizes, is a big lifting force. Lack of education brings poverty. Poverty holds people in the clutches of ignorance. We are anxious to have the tools and materials with which to construct our pathway to better things. The public-school system provides our first opportunity. To these public schools we send our children, hoping they will acquire there information and personal habits that will enable them to get on in living and working.

Much of our life and work is concerned with industry and industrial communities. Therefore, much of the information we need to understand life and work and to meet these problems intelligently should be suggested by industries themselves. Personal habits of mind and character are largely the tools needed for successful living in an industrial environment and civilization. We need therefore to study work and industrial civilization in order to plan school curricula adapted to present-day needs.

We need to analyze the work men and women do to enable schools to send them out to this work, prepared to work and live to their highest capacity and to have satisfaction in developing capacity. This analysis will give us in part the material content of curricula. Just as important as information is interpretation of social institutions, the interrelation of social and economic forces, and understanding and familiarity with the tools and technique of social living. This implies understanding of social organization and seeing why associated undertakings are essential to

present-day undertakings. Our whole social and industrial life is highly complex and highly organized, and those boys and girls who understand social forces and institutions will be best fitted to take their places in the world of work. In addition to our analysis of work itself, therefore, we need to analyze social institutions, what they are and why they are, in order to introduce this kind of material into the constructive program.

We are realizing as never before that national prosperity is dependent on our working out a technique of economic equilibrium adjustments between markets and production, earnings or consumer power and production. Interrelation of interests, large-scale production, mergers, all make necessary coöperation in social and economic life. Since social institutions are the framework upon which national life depends, we feel they should have a relative position in school curricula.

Nor is it enough to analyze the social and economic institutions of the day. Schools must be aware of changes. The distinguishing characteristic of the past ten years in industry was rapidity of change. This is a factor with which schools should reckon in order to help men and women to have the capacity of adaptability to change. Capacity to adapt sharply distinguishes the educated person from the uneducated—the successful from the unsuccessful.

We believe that as education implies something more than instruction, so our curriculum should include something more than opportunity to acquire information. We believe there should be mental discipline, development of such good habits as accuracy, punctuality, responsibility, resourcefulness.

We believe that good workmanship and good life are inseparably associated and that, by developing a school curriculum that will lead to much intelligent understanding of industrial organization, it will help to get our industrial

civilization on the soundest base possible and will open opportunities for higher intellectual and spiritual development. Good work provides the means for stimulating growth and development for the workers as individuals.

To sum up, Labor suggests that the school curricula draw for their content upon the facts of industry and industrial work, upon the history of social and economic institutions and their economic progress, and that, coördinated with such an instructional program, should go understanding of how to live and work with others so that each individual may reach the highest development.

LAND PLANNING AND EDUCATION[1]

RICHARD T. ELY

It is through planning that we are coming to a wise utilization of land; and by wise utilization I mean that utilization of all classes of land, especially urban and agricultural land, that at a given time and place yields desirable human satisfactions of our felt needs. Some of these are expressed more easily in psychic and nonpecuniary returns. Land has been utilized generally without carefully worked-out plans and especially is this the case in the United States. Our abundant, even superabundant resources, have been such that we have made rapid national progress notwithstanding this planlessness, which often amounted to antisocial utilization. Our wasteful exploitation of natural resources is familiar to all, and when we have been called a nation of butchers on account of the amount of needless waste, we have been obliged to acknowledge a considerable justification in the charge. But the progress of this nation and its vast wealth have been attended with staggering individual and sectional suffering. The impoverishment of New England and Southern farmers furnishes illustrations of sectional economic suffering; and the grazing homestead of six hundred and forty acres, called by Colonel Greeley, late chief of the United States Forest Service, a social crime, would furnish illustration of individual loss and ruin.

We are just beginning to adopt the idea of planned progress in the utilization of land; and I know of nothing calculated better to bring about a widely diffused general prosperity. Planned progress is seen in recent improvements in the utilization of properly selected land for the growth of trees; that is to say, for forests, and, of course, forests are simply one kind of crop. I might by way of illustration speak of what New York and Wisconsin are

[1] An address given before the Educational Sociology section of the American Sociological Society, Washington, D. C., December 30, 1929.

just beginning to do to secure forests in the future, suitably located, of proper size, on land that should be used for crops of this kind.

The subject is so vast that I shall take the utilization of land as my topic and attempt in a few generalizations to tell what this is coming to mean and what it should mean with respect to education. And what a big word education is! The whole topic is staggering in its magnitude. One could talk for hours and days on this subject. Planned utilization requires education. First of all, it involves education in research of the highest type. We must know facts and then diffuse the knowledge of facts in the planning of land utilization which will give us the highest attainable wealth in that phase of economic evolution which we have reached. And I use wealth in the sense in which Ruskin a generation or more ago taught us to use it—human weal, including, for example, the satisfaction of soul and body in wandering through some of the glorious forests of Germany.

On one of the walls of the quarters of our Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities at Northwestern University, you will find this quotation from Herbert Hoover: "The nation today needs more support to research. It needs still more laboratories. . . . And scientific research means more than its practical results in increased living comfort. The future of our nation is not merely a question of the development of our industries, of reducing the cost of living, of multiplying our harvests, or of larger leisure. We must constantly strengthen the fiber of national life by the inculcation of that veracity of thought which springs from the search for truth. From its pursuit we shall discover the unfolding of beauty, we shall stimulate the aspiration for knowledge, we shall ever widen human understanding."

Walking along a little further in the same hall, you will find this quotation from Owen D. Young: "Facts can be

applied in any field. Our curse is ignorance. Facts are our scarcest raw material. This is shown by the economy with which we use them. One has to dig deep for them, because they are as difficult to get as they are precious to have. . . . I shall be happy if we can substitute the calm findings of the investigator for the blatant explosions of the politicians."

What do these quotations signify for education and land planning? First, education in research, digging for facts and interpretation of facts. This is education of the highest university type, taxing the best powers of the keenest intellects that can be secured as workers in this field. Hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars are involved and the health, happiness, and prosperity of millions are at stake. One gets down to fundamental problems of world peace; for wars have largely been the result of the absence of international land planning. Why? Because no plans are in force for the fair distribution of food and raw materials, especially minerals, among the nations of the earth.

Land planning is dependent upon the classification of the land with respect to its various uses, and to make such a classification of the land is an extremely difficult and complex problem.

Education must secure pertinent facts and the knowledge of these facts must be widely diffused. And the education of all social groups must proceed until desirable action is secured.

Urban utilization of land with us is shockingly primitive. Adequate expenditures have been made to give us satisfactory housing but, on account of the absence of proper planning, the housing of the people is in too many cases inadequate and even wretched.

But as I proceed I am simply overwhelmed with the magnitude of the task assigned me. Let me close with a concrete illustration of well-planned urban land utilization and show its relation to education. I have in mind the opera-

tions of the City Housing Corporation of New York City, a limited dividend company that is now building in New Jersey a city called Radburn, the first city designed for the motor age instead of the horse and buggy age of other cities. This is an urban laboratory for our Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities. Learning what the costs are in the best construction of a well-planned, modern city is an educational process; and some of the findings are of vast significance. Education in our higher institutions of learning must utilize these facts and through ascertained standards and methods must bring about that vast improvement in housing which is possible without increased expenditures—indeed, with smaller expenditures. It means also training of workers. Education also involves the preparation of textbooks, some simple and elementary, others complex and difficult suited to various grades of learners. All this means, furthermore, a vast adventure in adult education, involving such activities as the recent broadcasting at Northwestern University of lectures on "Buying, Building, and Beautifying a Home."

Education in land planning has fairly begun. I know of no better field for leadership of the very best brains of our country. Ultimately education in land planning will mean many things, such as better homes, less waste with more economical utilization of the land, more abundant and widely diffused prosperity, a better understanding of past and present history, and aid in laying the economic foundation of world peace.

EDUCATION AND RATIONAL CONSUMPTION

HAZEL KYRK

There are various signs of a widespread and growing concern for the education of the consumer. We are not so happy as we once were about the American standard of living. We do not like certain expressions of the national taste. The very hugeness of the recent estimates of the national income makes us somewhat uneasy because of the opportunity for healthful, truly civilized life that they suggest—opportunity which we feel is by no means satisfactorily realized. We are beginning to recognize the significance of the individual's actions as consumer. We are beginning to see consumers' goods not only as the end-products of industry, but also as the means by which we fulfill our interests and desires. We see that their character determines the quality of our lives. The public utterances of schoolmen more and more frequently contain references to this need for the education of consumers. Chancellor Lindley of Kansas gave it a prominent place in his presidential address to the Association of State Universities at their Chicago meeting in 1925. "In the judgment of some thoughtful observers," he said, "the prestige of State universities in the immediate future will wax or wane in proportion as these institutions respond to the problem of consumption in this country."

Hitherto deliberate campaigns and plans for the "education" of the consumer have been those of manufacturers or dealers. Their aim of course was to bring about the purchase and use of some particular good or service. Indeed the demand that the schools concern themselves with the education of the consumer is to a large extent the result of the desire to transfer this education from biased to unbiased hands and to make it systematic and comprehensive instead of sporadic, unsystematic, and incomplete. There

is recognition, too, of the fact that the schools have been educating people to sell although they have not been educating them to buy. President Hall, of the University of Oregon, in his inaugural address, speaks on this point: "But has not the time arrived when we must think of the consumers as well as the venders of the goods of life? Must we not think of the public welfare along with the importance of high-powered salesmanship? . . . Must we not be as much concerned with training the people for intelligent decision as we are in training those who seek to guide the people's choice?"

Education for "consumption" may, however, mean different things to different people because of the varying connotations of the word consumption. To some rational consumption may mean rational use. It means oiling the machine according to directions and storing it carefully; it means using left-over foods; it means brushing and repairing one's clothes. In short, in this sense it has to do mainly with lengthening the life of durable goods and avoiding waste of foodstuffs and other supplies and materials.

To others education for consumption means education for market selection, what Miss Hoyt in *The Consumption of Wealth* calls the technology of consumption. The problem in market selection is how to secure the good that will best serve your purpose with a minimum expenditure of time, energy, and money. Here is obviously a wide field for education—for education primarily of the informational type. It is a field too where education is badly needed. Indisputable evidence appears almost daily that consumers do not know the articles that will best serve their purposes or cannot recognize them in the concrete goods on the market. An incalculable amount of time, energy, and money is daily being wasted, far more than the losses through careless use. Those who plan education for consumption in this sense must keep in mind two things. One is the variety and small scale of the household buyer's pur-

chases, and the other that the possibility of rational choices between goods offered on the market is conditioned at least as much by the current market devices and arrangements as by the buyer's information.

There is a third meaning of the phrase "education for rational consumption." It may mean such education of consumers as will change the wants themselves. It may mean education that makes for rational choice in the sense that it attempts to shape the desires, interests, and values that are behind choice. The distinction between this type of education and the preceding is clearly put by Miss Hoyt. She says, "The intelligent direction of consumption may be approached from two points of view: The first is, What is best for us? The second is, How can we get what we want and get it best? The second point of view does not lead us to attempt to pass judgment on the character of our wants but is concerned only with how we can most economically gratify them . . . how may we recognize what we want and get the best qualities for the least money?"[1]

Education that has as its objective the molding of the character of wants is obviously the most difficult as well as the most important of the three forms of education of the consumer. It is difficult for three reasons. One is the limitation upon what we know about human needs and the ways of meeting them. Miss Hoyt says, "After scientific knowledge has done for us the utmost that it is now capable of doing and indeed the utmost that we can forecast for it at present, it will have answered less than half the questions that we should like to have answered for directing our consumption on a scientific basis."[2] Consumption must therefore to a large extent be conceived and taught as an art and not as an applied science. Especially must those who set themselves up to guide along this line be careful not to derive their "oughts" from what is, or to

[1] Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, *The Consumption of Wealth* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 176.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

derive norms for conduct from statistical averages without being fully conscious of what they are doing.

The second obstacle to the successful molding of consumers' attitudes and values through a program of formal education lies in the strong forces outside that may be exercising a counter influence. The family, the church, the neighbors, the crowd, commercial agencies, the upper classes, the press, all shape and mold our standards for food, clothing, housing, recreation, reading material, and aesthetic satisfactions. Think, for example, of the task before the school if it should attempt to make women's desires for clothing rational. The third obstacle to a program of education for rational consumption in the sense that that term is here being used is our ignorance of the motivation of a great deal of consumers' behavior. We must know why people want what they do before we can change their wants. We must know the psychology of their present choices, how their present attitudes and values came to be, before we can substitute others.

The above analysis would suggest that there is need for both a direct and an indirect attack upon the problem of consumers' desires and standards. The direct attack is the organized attempt to supply consumers with the information that science provides in regard to physical or other needs and the means of meeting them. It means inducting them into the wisdom of the past in regard to the art of living, giving them the best thought of the ages in regard to what ends are worth while. Along with this would go presumably an attempt to coördinate and unify all the forms of education for rational consumption now going on in our schools. When we see how broad is the field of the consumer's choices, covering not only food and clothing but houses, furniture, motor cars, forms of recreation, books, pictures, newspapers, plays, we see that in various guises a great deal of education for rational consumption is already going on. It may be the task of departments of

home economics to coördinate in some fashion these diverse attempts to shape the consumers' standards of choice.

The indirect attack upon the problem is, it is conceived, no less important than the direct; indeed it supplements and makes effective the direct. One aspect of it is the application of sound educational psychology and procedure in this field. Can we attain our purpose, for example, by issuing a series of commandments, saying, this is what you ought to do; these are the right foods, clothes, types of dwellings, books, pictures, etc.? It is true that America with its growth in wealth and absence of class barriers presents an interesting picture of thousands of consumers anxious to know the right way to dine and to dress, the right sort of book to read and pictures to put on the wall. But it is the usage of the social élite that they seek, not what may be properly called a rational basis for consumption. They may give heed if physical health is threatened by an unsound practice, but otherwise it is doubtful whether the authoritarian method of instruction by precept would move them.

The second form of indirect attack upon the problem consists in making the consumers themselves aware of the bases and character of their choices. Its objective is to make them conscious of the motives that guide them, the nature of the values they seek, the forces that have been influencing their choices. Such choice-conscious consumers will be set, it is believed, on the road towards rational consumption. Emphasis on budgeting evidently plays its part here, tying all parts of the consumptive plan definitely together. The danger is that the budget become a means of getting what they now want, or, as Mrs. McMahon points out, of successfully imitating on a minimum income the standard of living of a higher income level rather than a tool to promote rational consumption.

The third, possibly the most important and certainly the most difficult, line of indirect attack upon the problem of

rational consumption is the attempt to bring about discrimination, self-reliance, and independence of judgment on the part of consumers. Every one who studies our present-day habits of consumption is struck by the absence of originality and by our slavish deference to the correct mode and to what others are doing. The education that the consumer needs most is one that will free him from his blind conformity. He must learn to consult his individual need, to form his own judgments, to desire for himself and to respect in others a creative, experimental attitude towards the various means that are offered him for the enhancement of his health and comfort, or the enrichment of his experience. This phase of the education of the consumer, most sadly lacking today, is the one that the schools should most sedulously cultivate in the future.

EDUCATION AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF SOVIET RUSSIA

GEORGE S. COUNTS

There are certain institutions and relationships in the revolutionary order of Soviet Russia which have received altogether too little attention in the American press. We have heard much about the Communists, about the Soviets, about the labor unions, about the Pioneers, about the Society of Atheists, about the Red Army, and about the Gay-Pay-Oo. We have also heard much about nepmen and kulaks and the persecution of religion. On the other hand, we have heard but little about the system of planning organs and the relationship of that system to the institutions of public education. Here we have, in my judgment, the most distinctive features of the new society which is evolving beyond the Vistula today.

Even in those narrow circles in which the system of planning organs is known, the prevailing conception is full of error. The common view seems to be that this system is very simple in structure, and consists essentially of a state-planning commission in Moscow composed of some fifteen or sixteen economists. According to this view, moreover, these economists sit in their swivel chairs and evolve from time to time elaborate plans with regard to the economic development of the country. Such a picture grievously falsifies the actual situation.

The planning organs of Soviet Russia constitute a vast system which reaches from Moscow to the most remote corners of the Union. There is, to be sure, an All-Union Planning Commission with offices in Moscow. But there is also a planning commission in each of the republics comprising the Union, a planning commission in each of the great oblasts into which a republic is divided, a planning commission in each orkug within an oblast, and embryonic and partial planning commissions in the yet smaller politi-

cal divisions. These various commissions, moreover, sustain intimate relationships with the Soviets, with the Communist Party, with the professional unions, with the great economic trusts, and with the other organs of the social structure. They are also welded together into a single instrument and made to constitute a vast and complex system which is devoted to social planning just as the schools are devoted to education or the police force to the maintenance of order. Thus the elaboration of any plan involves the flow of ideas and information back and forth throughout this entire system of planning organs and the holding of numerous conferences within the different political divisions of representatives of the planning commissions. In the year 1928 there were held sixteen All-Union conferences, as well as numerous smaller conferences, dealing with various phases of the five-year plan of construction.

This system of planning organs is the product of the efforts of the Soviet Government to plan the public economy and has evolved gradually since the October Revolution. These efforts, rapidly gaining volume with the passage of the years, have given to the Russian people a unique experience in the sphere of planning. With great courage and vigor, Soviet economists have entered a field of endeavor which is practically closed to economists in capitalistic countries. The extent of this experience is revealed by the fact that bibliographies are already appearing which include hundreds of titles.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Intimately related to the system of planning organs is a system of education which differs radically from the other educational systems of the world. The major point to be noted here is the breadth of the scope of this educational system. It embraces not only schools but also numerous other institutions. It includes the press, the moving picture, the radio, the library, reading rooms, the bookstore, clubs, young people's organizations, museums, art galleries,

and even the army. Moreover, there are two systems of schools: the one, embracing nurseries, kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools, and higher institutions, is designed for the coming generation; the other, composed of points for the liquidation of illiteracy, Soviet Party schools, Communist universities, and a great variety of correspondence and extension courses providing both special and general education, ministers to the educational needs of adults.

In building the new social order this relationship between the planning organs and the educational system is one of very great importance. Through the former the new social order is being planned in great detail; and through the latter forces are being mobilized on a huge scale for the realization of the plans. What may come out of this union of social planning and education cannot of course be predicted today. Some years must pass yet before conclusions may be safely drawn. It would seem, however, that the Soviet leaders have forged an instrument of extraordinary power.

The nature and significance of this relationship between the planning organs and the educational system may well be illustrated by an examination of the five-year plan which was launched in October 1928. The fact should be observed, however, that this plan represents but one of the major achievements of the planning organs. Under the direct inspiration and leadership of Lenin, beginning in 1920, there was developed a ten-year program for the construction of thirty regional electric stations. In 1925-1926 appeared for the first time the so-called "control figures" on the basis of which the development of industry, agriculture, transport, and other branches of the public economy is planned for the succeeding year. A third large undertaking which has recently been completed is the re-regioning of the country on the basis of the facts of geography, ethnology, and industry.

The five-year plan, which is by far the largest achievement of the planning organs, was developed during a period of two and one-half years. In its original form it was organized in two variants. The one was called the minimum, the other the optimum variant. They differed not in purpose but rather in terms of the rate of development contemplated; both provided for the industrialization of the country and the socialistic reconstruction of the village. After much debate the optimum variant was approved by the party and the Government. As a consequence, at the present time the five-year plan is identified with the variant which outlined the more rapid building of industry and socialism in the Soviet Union. The other variant, though supported by such names as Rikov, Bucharin, and Tomsky, is already forgotten.

In its provisions the plan may be divided into three divisions: economic, social, and cultural.

The economic program includes such items as construction, the increase of output, the lowering of the cost of production, and the reduction of prices. The magnitude of the plan is shown in the contemplated expenditure during the five-year period of approximately 65 billions of rubles on construction. Almost 16 billion rubles will go into industry, more than 3 billion into electrification, about 10 billion into transport, and perhaps 23 billion into agriculture. The plan outlines particularly the marked development of heavy industry, chemistry, and electrification.

Another important provision of the economic program pertains to the regional distribution of construction. In the past the industries have centered in Leningrad, Moscow, and the Don basin. Under the plan, the Ural region will become a great center of black and colored metallurgy; and the Kuznetsky basin of Siberia, famous for its enormous coal reserves, will enter upon the road of development. Moreover, in the case of agriculture vast new re-

gions will be opened up and the burden of supplying the grain needs of the country will gradually be shifted eastward. Thus from the standpoint of geography the face of the public economy will be appreciably altered.

The social program of the plan has to do with such matters as the improvement of housing conditions, the shortening of hours of labor, the extension of health facilities, and the enlargement of social insurance. It is expected that from 150 to 200 socialistic cities will be built during the five years. Also, and perhaps most important of all, the plan calls for the socialistic reconstruction of the village. According to the original plan, some 27 million hectares of land were to be brought under some form of collective management by 1933. Recent reports from Soviet Russia state that this part of the program has gone forward so rapidly that the goal set for the five years has already been passed. Now the expectation is that practically the whole of agriculture devoted to the raising of grain will be socialized by the autumn of 1931 or the spring of 1932.

The cultural program has also been worked out in great detail. Perhaps the most fundamental element here is the provision for the abolition of illiteracy throughout the Union during the five years. The further and rapid extension of practically all forms of education is also contemplated. Primary education will be made universal; the number of cottage reading rooms will grow from 2,200 to 38,000; and the number of moving-picture stations will increase fourfold. Moreover, the vast program of construction outlined makes necessary the training of an enormous number of specialists. This is regarded as one of the most fundamental and crucial tasks of the entire plan. During the five years, the cultural program will require the expenditure of approximately 16 billion rubles.

The achievement of the plan, which certainly must be regarded as a "program of great works," a phrase which

the Russians commonly apply to it, is requiring and will continue to require the mobilization of human resources on an enormous scale. This process of mobilization may be divided into three divisions: first, the propagation of the plan; second, the training of specialists; and, third, the maintenance of morale. In each case the burden of accomplishment must fall in very large measure upon the edutional agencies. A brief reference to the methods employed in the achievement of these three tasks will reveal the intimacy of the relationship between the planning organs and the educational system.

THE PROPAGATION OF THE PLAN

From the first the success of the plan has been seen to be clearly dependent upon the thorough and widespread propagation of the provisions of the plan among the masses of workers and peasants. This task was of course achieved in part in the process of developing the plan. The planning organs which spread like a network over the Union acquainted great numbers with the plan before its provisions took definite form. Also, during the period of its development, the plan was discussed in greater or less detail by the Communist Party, the Soviets, the professional unions, and other active groups in the country. Consequently, when the plan was finally launched, an important proportion of the population was already familiar with its purposes and provisions. We are interested here primarily, however, in the systematic efforts that have been made to popularize the plan through the various arms of the educational system.

In the primary school, secondary school, technical school, and university, provision is made everywhere for the study of the five-year plan. For an individual to pass through any one of these institutions without becoming familiar with the major provisions of the plan is practically impossible. For the lower schools, courses and textbooks are being revised to include materials dealing with the plan,

and for the higher schools special lectures on the plan are being organized. To an even greater extent the schools for adults, and particularly the Soviet Party schools and Communist universities, are assuming responsibility for the propagation of the plan. When peasants learn to read they read about the five-year plan, and when they study arithmetic they wrestle with the figures of the plan. The nonscholastic agencies are also brought into service. The press is literally pouring forth books, brochures, articles, and placards about the plan. There are huge volumes of a technical nature designed to furnish guidance to the specialists; then there are small pamphlets dealing in popular fashion with every phase of the plan. The newspapers and journals are filled with news items, articles, and editorials about the program of construction. Artistically executed placards dealing with the plan are distributed to schools, club houses, reading rooms, libraries, and wherever people congregate. Also the moving picture, the radio, and the museum are doing their bit. Moreover special lecturers are being trained and sent into the more backward areas to propagate the plan. Then the Pioneers, the Young Communists, and the more socially conscious members of the professional unions are all participating actively in this gigantic attempt to reach the masses and win them to the support of the plan. Finally attention should be directed to the Red Army which, as a powerful agency of education and propaganda, is now assuming very heavy responsibilities in building the new social order. Thus, every conceivable agency is expected to make its contribution to the propagation of the five-year plan.

THE TRAINING OF SPECIALISTS

The second task involved in the mobilization of human resources is the training of specialists. This is certainly one of the most crucial tasks of the five-year plan. Indeed, the achievement of the plan must depend upon the successful performance of this task. According to the original

estimates, the country will require during the five years 45,000 new engineers, 100,000 new technicians, and 1,000,000 new skilled workers. Because of the rapidity with which certain departments of the work has gone forward, all of these figures have been revised upwards.

The preparation of these specialists has placed upon the vocational and professional schools of Soviet Russia a burden of tremendous proportions. The heads of these institutions are literally lying awake nights wrestling with the problem. In the existing schools old courses are being shortened and new courses are being added. Also, new agencies of training are being organized in great numbers and special courses of many types are being arranged by correspondence. And, in those fields where the need is particularly urgent, maintenance stipends for students have been increased in number and amount. Here too the Red Army is rendering large services. In the year 1929 this institution trained 25,000 tractorists and thousands of other workers of lower qualification.

THE MAINTENANCE OF MORALE

The task of maintaining morale, courage, and spirit during this period of construction is also a task of the very greatest importance. Since the Soviet Government cannot expect to secure loans from foreign countries, the Russian people must be called upon to sacrifice the luxuries, if not some of the necessities of life. And this willingness to live in the future must be maintained month after month and year after year.

In achieving this task very little apparently has been overlooked. The entire program of construction is dramatized and made to appear in the guise of a gigantic struggle with nature, the cultural backwardness of the country, and external and internal enemies of the new order. Military terms are continually used in reporting the progress of the plan. The papers constantly employ such phrases as "the war for specialists," "the preparation of millions

of warriors for collectivization," and "on the front of construction."

Through the papers the progress of this struggle is reported from day to day. As a consequence the newspaper even seems to be changing its character. The space devoted to the world revolution and labor troubles in foreign countries has been greatly reduced. At the present, for example, even the more important sections of the front page of the *Pravda* are dedicated to the achievement of the five-year plan. An effort seems to be made to report the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly progress along the entire "front of construction." The point should be made, however, that the attention is by no means confined to the successes. Indeed, it would seem that today the failures receive much more attention than the successes. The pages of the newspaper are simply filled with statements to the effect that in this factory or in that agricultural region the achievement lags behind the program. Also, wherever the plan is fulfilled to excess, the fact is duly and conspicuously recorded.

A word should also be said about the socialistic competition which has swept the country. Apparently almost all institutions and enterprises have entered into contracts with each other for the purpose of increasing production and eliminating waste. These contracts list various items affecting efficiency by which the contests are to be judged. They are extremely interesting documents. Closely related to socialistic competition are the so-called "shock brigades." These brigades are composed of the more eager and enthusiastic workers who voluntarily assume unusual responsibilities for the promotion of construction. The tasks which they undertake are most varied in character. The brigade may be merely a group of workers in a particular factory who engage to serve as examples of industry. It may, however, engage in undertakings of a much more spectacular character. It may carry on the struggle for

the collectivization of agriculture in the village; it may go into remote forests for the purpose of speeding up the lumber industry; or it may go to any point on the "front of construction" where the program is not going well.

Finally, reference should be made to the part that Lenin continues to play in this entire undertaking. He would seem to stand over the five-year plan and other programs of construction in process of formulation as a sort of guardian angel. In defending the plan or any of its provisions the appeal is always to him. Since he was greatly interested in planning and since he helped to launch the earlier plans, it is easy to cull from his numerous writings appropriate quotations in support of any element in the present program. Furthermore, in view of the fact that he holds a place of genuine affection in the hearts of the masses of the people, peasants as well as workers, this appeal constitutes one of the most powerful forces in enlisting the interests and the energies of the masses.

The present account may be closed by a reference to the importance of studying the Soviet experience. While it is altogether too early to pass judgment on the work of the planning organs, we cannot continue to ignore that great body of experience which the Soviet economists are gaining. If the five-year plan is successful and if it is followed, as it no doubt will be, by other plans of a yet more grandiose character, the power which social planning may give to a society can then be gauged with some degree of accuracy. Possibly we shall find that our present practice of placing our confidence in the uncoördinated efforts of separate enterprises represents the last word in human efficiency; possibly we shall find that the society which endeavors to plan its future has a tremendous advantage over the society which entrusts its future to the fates. Whatever the outcome, the experiment now under way in Soviet Russia should be watched by the most intelligent observers that our country can provide.

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND PROGRESS IN ENGLAND

SIR JOSIAH STAMP

Before one can profitably discuss the bearing of education upon national economic reconstruction and progress in England, it is necessary to form clear ideas as to what that reconstruction and progress really involve. Without giving actual reasons for the conclusions, it may be said that they involve, in general, larger units for the production of articles of established consumption, the elimination of duplicate manufacture in different plants, and the saving of overlapping in distribution. Before these larger units can be successfully constructed by amalgamation, the less efficient units have to be eliminated or brought up-to-date. Before it can be properly decided which are the less efficient units, there must be a much closer regard to comparative process costs than at present exists in most industries. No amalgamation can be made merely from financial results; the technicians should make a close examination of the physical equipment and of the comparative costs before taking important decisions of this kind. The existence of larger units means that Mr. A, who would have been the sole owner of a small business, will in future occupy a responsible salaried position in the general hierarchy of a large organization. Success formerly demanded high powers of competitive endurance, willingness to take risks, while inability to see other people's points of view, to study their feelings, was often a positive asset. Mr. A's new position, however, calls for very different qualities. He must be capable of self-abnegation, of intelligent teamwork, of the power to avoid overlapping, and, although capacity as a soloist is useful, it is still more valuable for him to be a good performer in the orchestra under a supreme leader.

The supreme leader was not wanted before, and he is a new demand of the age of large units. The large unit must avoid the vices of bureaucracy and red tape and combine, in a new and most difficult way, scope for the virtues of individuality with the restraint of discipline. It will not be a case of "sink or swim" and Mr. A the only one affected. Mr. A's qualities will affect the success of the whole business. "Success" in business, therefore, will require rather different personal qualities—a greater power to specialize will undoubtedly be needed, and matters must be decided, not on the basis of personal profit in competition, but with a closer regard to the net economic costs of society. It often happens in a large composite concern that the fullest profitability of one section must be subordinated to the interests of another.

Economic reconstruction and progress will demand a knowledge of the importance of financial stability for long-period borrowing and contracts through price levels, etc. It will require a wiser leadership, both in trade unions and capital federations, than in the past, with a knowledge of economics, so that rules based upon the fallacy of a fixed quantity of work or the economy of low wages may no longer dominate industrial policy.

The progress of rationalization means that there must be an accurate realization of the difference between a mere depression in industry and a permanent change of its direction, because the remedies for the two states are quite different. Such realization is essentially getting a result with the minimum human effort and sacrifice in labor and capital. It means, also, a fearless facing up to the process of "dislocation," and the invention of more rapid means of overcoming the disturbances of the transition period.

Industrial England cannot be properly rationalized without the counterpart of agriculture receiving its attention. No longer must this proceed upon rule-of-thumb lines with traditional methods, but the whole scientific attack

in the average farmer must be quicker. The industrialist, moreover, has to realize that psychological factors are as important to study as changes in machinery.

For this state of affairs the individual will require to have a greater capacity for self-education and certainly a much greater desire to learn. The British characteristic in the past has been to wait for something to happen and then to try to put it right. The future industrialist must have knowledge of a less empirical character and must not be so afraid of principle and forethought. He must have a more ready use for the specialist, especially in testing for facts rather than in trusting to his "nose" and he must rely upon quantitative measures instead of impressions. The individual, in his capacity as a citizen, must have a greater reverence for good saving and directional investment, and a greater horror of bad spending or errors in consumption.

The part that education must play in producing this individual to cope with this changed environment is:

1. To make him rely for his opinions less upon his feelings and more upon evidence
2. To eliminate tradition and prejudice and substitute open-mindedness and reason
3. It should give him greater restlessness and curiosity of mind so that the analysis of ideas is no longer a painful process to be put off to the last possible moment, but full of keen joy in itself

The reduction of everything to the purely mechanical, thus relieving one of all necessity for further thought, should be the anathema of the educational ideal. The system of education should cultivate the power to apply the mind to details, particularly of a difficult and disagreeable sort, but to subordinate detailed "scholarship" to the application of right principle. It should emphasize particularly the meaning of proof and evidence and show the different types that are adequate in the different fields of law, science, history, economics, etc. It should cultivate

the power to arrive at balanced judgments with many conflicting elements. It should develop to a greater extent analytical methods in thinking upon political and economic subjects. Above all, in its best scholars, it should clearly uphold the fact that most problems in business are human and not merely intellectual exercises—that they demand intelligence rather than intellect.

The educational curriculum should, therefore, place less stress upon purely factual achievement and accuracy, and more upon analytically examined problems. It should find place for the history and methods of science and the nature of evidence in history, rather than specialized masses of erudition in scientific and historical knowledge. It should deal at an early stage with sociology and economics and should emphasize the value of travel and languages. It should cultivate quickness of apprehension and manipulation rather than mere retentiveness; it should study how actual human business problems have been successfully overcome. Inasmuch as education has to fit man not only for business but for leisure, the humanities must not be forgotten. But classics and literature and test tubes alone will not suffice as the educational equipment of the business man of the future.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE: *In order that this section of* THE JOURNAL *may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF TEACHERS' COLLEGE STUDENTS[1]

The aim of this investigation is to study the interwoven trends which constitute student life in the State Teachers College at Buffalo, New York. No attempt has been made to evaluate any scholastic procedure, or to establish or destroy any thesis; instead, the investigation aims, by recording observed phenomena, to delineate a picture which may be used as suggesting possible fresh points of departure in the formulation of administrative and educational policies and procedures in this and similar institutions.

There is nothing new or original in the attempt to photograph the contemporary life of an institution but such photographs, in the past, have tended to limit themselves either to such aspects of student life as can be statistically treated or to philosophical speculation more or less based on observation. Such a picture is delimited by method and is necessarily lacking in fullness and completeness of detail. Life and civilization are a complex of intertwining and interlocking variables, a continuum[2] analyzable only through the use of a variable and adaptable technique. The analysis of the complex of personalities which comprises a student body is a total-situation study and such a study in the field of teacher training is unique.

[1] Statement furnished by courtesy of Professor Stephen C. Clement, Director of Extension, State Teachers' College, Buffalo, N. Y.
[2] A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, New York: Knopf, 1919, p. 31.

In any total-situation study, the first problem is the necessity of obtaining some kind of orderly procedure. For the purpose of convenience, it was assumed that student life could be satisfactorily grouped around its main origins, activities, and attitudinal sets as follows:

1. Student origins
   a) The community
   b) The family
2. Student activities
   a) Living conditions
   b) Getting and spending money
   c) Classroom activities
   d) Extracurricular activities
   e) Recreational activities
   f) Time spending
3. Student attitudinal sets
   a) Towards the family
   b) Towards sex
   c) Towards race
   d) Towards religion
   e) Fears and superstitions
   f) Serious personality maladjustments
   g) Philosophy of life

This classification is somewhat arbitrary and has no necessarily exclusive merit but is used as a methodological expedient. While certain minor aspects of the total situation may unavoidably be omitted, the classification may be taken as including practically all of the major aspects of the situation.

The choice of institution and the limitation of the study to a single institution is a matter both of expediency and of availability. The State Teachers College at Buffalo, which was immediately accessible for study, undoubtedly has features peculiar to itself alone. But in so far as common elements exist in environment, clientele, aim, administration, and curriculum, the techniques used, the general characteristics arrived at, and the resultant generalizations may be taken as typical of similar institutions.

The techniques used in this study are extremely varied, including:

1. Historical investigation from
   a) Catalogues and other printed institutional material
   b) Printed documents, especially reports of the State Department of Education
   c) Letters from graduates
   d) Interviews with graduates
2. Ecological investigation
3. Statistical investigation through
   a) Schedules
   b) Time sheets
   c) Questionnaires
4. Personnel investigation by means of
   a) Life histories
   b) Individual interviews
   c) Group interviews
   d) Narrations
   e) Schedules
   f) Questionnaires
   g) Observation

The degree of objectivity of method determines in large measure the validity of any investigation. Studies of individual behavior, particularly in the fields of emotion and attitude, obtain objectivity only in so far as they are unbiased and undertaken with a definitely scientific purpose. Such procedures demand a high degree of *rapport* between investigator and those investigated. In order to secure objectivity, the purpose of the investigation was carefully reviewed, and all interviews, case histories, and narrations were given anonymity in all cases in which the student for any reason wished to have it so. *Rapport* was secured by a long process of friendly consultation both with individuals and with groups. Extremely attitudinal or emotional narration was checked by careful interview. *Rapport* was also built up through the close classroom association, over a period of from one to three years, of the investigator with the students included in this study.

Had time and facilities permitted, it would have been desirable obviously to conduct a series of mental, physical, and psychiatric examinations throughout the entire student body. While such examinations may explain the cause of individual

adjustment or maladjustment, they do not contribute behavior as it occurs spontaneously in a group. For this reason and because of lack of the necessary highly specialized technicians, this possible phase of the investigation has been omitted.

As a background for the study, the institution as the locus about which student living expresses itself, and the communities which form the background for the out-of-school life of students are briefly characterized. Such a characterization is necessary in order that valid analogy with similar institutions and communities may be derived.

To sum up: This study attempts, by means of historical, ecological, statistical, and personality trend techniques, to picture the complex of behavior which constitutes student life in the State Teachers College at Buffalo, N. Y.

NEWSPAPER TREATMENT OF ORIENTAL-WHITE RACE RELATIONS[3]

At Stanford University a study is being made of the growth of racial attitudes where the white race is in contact with Orientals. As a part of this study, the newspaper record is being used as a source of material. It is believed that newspaper stories and editorials present a picture of the tendency of the attitude to express itself in the overt act. A consideration of the act gives opportunity for an interpretation of the attitude which was back of it. For this purpose, all the items that concern the behavior of the Orientals and whites in contact during critical periods, and appearing in a selected newspaper, have been secured, evaluated, measured in column inch units, classified, and filed. Also significant newspaper stories from any source, for the whole period of contact between the races, have been secured and filed as illustrative material. This material is being used as a means of interpreting developing race relations and the growth of racial attitudes.

[3]This statement furnished through the courtesy of Professor C. N. Reynolds, department of economics, Stanford University, California.

NEW YORK WELFARE COUNCIL STUDIES

The following report on the status of the New York City Welfare Council will be of interest to students of educational sociology both in the New York region and outside. The research bureau of the Council is directed by Dr. Neva R. Deardorff. Dr. Robert E. Chaddock is a consultant. The work of the bureau is at the present time divided into studies of settlements, of the chronically ill, of income and expenditure of social agencies, of social welfare statistics, and of indices of social conditions.

The following studies have been completed and reports published:

Where to Turn for Help:

Study of experience of 1766 individuals in search of assistance. 41 pages. Kathryn Farra—out of print, may be consulted at Welfare Council offices.

Aged Dependents Cared for Outside of Institutions by Private Agencies in New York City:

Published in *Labor Legislation Review* in June 1929. $1.00 a copy.

Correlation between Lodgings of Homeless Men and Employment in New York City: 8 pages. Limited number of copies available.

A Health Inventory of New York City:

A study of the volume and distribution of health service in the five boroughs. 367 pages. Michael M. Davis and Mary C. Jarrett. $1.00 to Council members. $2.00 to nonmembers.

The following studies have been completed but are as yet unpublished:

Income and Expenditure Study:

An analysis of the income, by sources, and the expenditures, for functions, for the period from 1910-1926 inclusive. Reports completed on:

Trends in Settlements and Neighborhood Houses in New York City, 61 pages.

Trends in Organized Legal Aid in New York City, 11 pages.

Financial Trends of Agencies Engaged in Giving Outdoor Relief in New York City, 73 pages.

Financial Trends of Protective and Correctional Agencies in New York City, Section I, 71 pages. Section II, Probation Work, 24 pages.

Settlements' Study:

An inquiry into volume and quality of service of 80 settlements in New York City. Chapters completed:

Locations, Affiliations, Programs, and Personnel of 80 Settlements, 48 pages.

A qualitative Study of Music in 38 Settlements, 55 pages (in course of publication).

Intown Summer Programs in 41 Houses, 35 pages.

The Visual Arts in 28 Houses, 71 pages.

Boys' Athletics in 33 Houses, 55 pages.

Health Work in 30 Houses, 57 pages.

Personal Service in 42 Settlements, 59 pages.

Appraisal of Magazines of 17 Settlements, 14 pages.

Membership of 18 Settlements, 40 pages.

Girls' Clubs and Boys' Clubs in 48 Settlements of New York City, 94 pages.

Holiday Celebrations, 27 pages.

Studies in the Care of the Homeless:

Homeless Clients of Fourteen Agencies in New York City. Analysis of social characteristics of 678 homeless men who applied to social agencies for aid in one month, 69 pages.

Use of Municipal Lodging House by Residents and Non-Residents in 1927: Analysis of 6,000 persons using the Lodging House, 52 pages.

Impressions of the Bowery, by Nels Anderson: Types of men on Bowery and their attitudes towards efforts made in their behalf, 15 pages.

Seamen with Venereal Disease in the Port of New York:

Based on social data for 961 seamen with venereal disease under treatment in two hospitals and a clinic of the U. S. Public Health Service, 178 pages.

Monthly Statistics on the Volume of Service (details confidential):

1. Agencies caring for the homeless
2. Homes for the aged
3. Family service agencies
4. Nonprofit-making employment bureaus
5. Room registries
6. Sheltered workshops

A Bibliography on the Employment Handicaps of Older Persons:

Listing and brief description of recent books and articles on this subject published in English, 55 pages.

The following research projects are now under way:

Income and Expenditure Study:

Entire field of social work to be covered.

Settlements Study:

Chapters remain to be written on Classes in English; Commercial Activities; Miscellaneous Activities—House Councils, Game Rooms, Parties, etc.; Day Nurseries, Nursery Schools and Kindergartens; and a general chapter on the problems of administration and organization of settlements.

Care of Chronically Ill in New York City:

Reports on facilities for care of chronically ill in public institutions, homes for aged, special and general private hospitals, convalescent homes, nursing organizations, sheltered workshops, and family service agencies.

Boys' work in Brooklyn.

Guide to Welfare Statistics of New York City:

Almost completed and may be consulted at Council headquarters.

Indices of Social Conditions in New York City:

Series of monthly data have been secured on:

1. Lodgings of homeless persons
2. Almshouse population
3. Patients in public hospitals
4. Public charges in private hospitals
5. Dependent children supported by the City Department of Welfare
6. Dependent children aided by the Board of Child Welfare

BOOK REVIEWS

John Dewey, the Man and His Philosophy; Addresses Delivered in New York in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 181 pages.

In this volume there is nothing but good concerning the living. The cover carries an outline of the somewhat unbiographical career of Professor Dewey. The list of the National Committee for the celebration is given, consisting of one hundred thirty-one persons, of which William H. Kilpatrick was chairman and Henry R. Linville was secretary. In the brief foreword Professor Henry W. Holmes claims for Harvard through the publication of this volume "a modest part . . . in the beneficent work of spreading the light of his teaching."

The inauguration of the plan is described by Dr. Linville, the president of the Teachers Union of New York, in a meeting of whose Executive Board the idea originated. The celebration was to be a personal tribute to Dr. Dewey, as well as public recognition of his contributions to education, philosophy, and social progress. There were three sessions, the luncheon being attended by twenty-three hundred persons.

The account of Dr. Dewey's contribution to education is given by Drs. Kilpatrick, Moore, Newlon, and Kandel; his contribution to philosophy is recorded by Drs. Mead and Schneider; and his contribution to social welfare by Jane Addams and James Harvey Robinson. In response at the luncheon Dr. Dewey spoke with great modesty and appreciation, expressing his conviction "that there is nothing so important in life as the free, unobstructed communication of ideas and experiences and their transmission from one to another, without any kind of restriction, censorship, or intimidation—legal, political, or extralegal" (page 176).

This little volume contains indispensable material for the critical assessment of Dr. Dewey's work. HERMAN H. HORNE

Censored: The Private Life of the Movies, by MORRIS L. ERNST and PARE LORENTZ. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930, xvi+199 pages.

The tale here is lush and full of inordinate humor. At first blush it seems incredible that such fellows as Heller, Knapp, and Chesterman actually exist in the flesh, and that, moreover, they should wield such a potent scepter. But facts are facts, and these in the main the Messrs. Ernst and Lorentz have set down with irrefutable precision. To caress their argument with even greater force, they have thrown in a gallery

of portraits. Fourteen in number, these are not only handsome but highly instructive. Mostly they represent racy moments which shoved up the censorial blood pressure, and which, hence, have been ordered out of the original film. The authors, graciously enough, also include in their show the likenesses of the illustrious Messrs. Heller and Chesterman. Respectively, these are the cinema watchdogs of Virginia and Maryland Free State. Mr. Heller, before he was crowned movie Cerberus in his particular State, was active as "hair dyer, jeweler, printer, clothing designer, doctor." Mr. Chesterman's talents are not so rounded. He is a "kind but firm gentleman," however, who reports the censorship business in Virginia to be "better than ever." His picture is superb, and is easily worth the price of the whole book. For the statistical doctors there is a Sin Chart which lists all the censor cuts for 1928. Therein one becomes cognizant with such delectable news that on seventeen occasions the guardians of *Staatsmoral* were obliged to kick out "reference to suicide." "Display of dangerous weapons" went down the chute 528 times. "Capital punishment" got 11 thrusts on the chin. "Nose-thumbing," which on the cinema index is Number 16A, was hurled outside 32 times.

Curiously enough, only half a dozen States employ censors; namely, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kansas, Virginia, and Ohio. As might be expected, these watchdogs of public morals run pretty true to the uplift stripe, and so they try to spread the good fruits of their work to the other less fortunate States. And in this they have succeeded. Precisely what their business is no one seems to know. In the main, however, it appears to be appetizing. Thus they shed much heat fixing the exact length of film footage that manages to keep a kiss moral. One of their main functions appears to be the changing of captions. Thus they transformed the wicked "It made a bum out of me and sent my boy to hell," to the artistic and respectable "It wrecked my life and sent my boy to hell." In their expert and moral hands the line "Do you think this bed is big enough for two" was made safe for the American citizenry by being disguised as "Another pillow?" "He's so dumb we don't have to be careful," is made pure by being ditched for "He's so dumb we can get away with anything."

Much more menacing to the cinema than all this idiocy, as the authors well point out, is the stern and puissant hand of commerce. The movies, as every one knows, represent Big Business. As such, despite the wailings of its aesthetic dignitaries, they are consecrated to gold rather than to art. And gold is never quite at ease when dealing with novel and startling ideas—good as these may be. Hence the movie barons are on the prowl not for better and finer pictures—as the Russians and Germans for example—but seek rather the cut and dried stuff that is always safe and economically triumphant. This of course is not art but mountebankery. It is also the chief reason why the movies in America are mainly rubbish.

All this the Messrs. Ernst and Lorentz show with logic and pungency, and though they slip now and then from the rail of facts, what they have to say is civilized and commendable.

ADOLPH E. MEYER

Advanced Biology, by FRANK M. WHEAT and ELIZABETH T. FITZPATRICK. New York: The American Book Company, 1929, 567 pages.

Community Hygiene, by DEAN FRANKLIN SMILEY and ADRIAN GORDON GOULD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, 350 pages.

Values and Methods in Health Education, by WALTER FRANK COBB. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1929, 362 pages.

The Layman Looks at Doctors, by S. W. and J. T. PIERCE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929, 251 pages.

Among the books dealing directly or indirectly with the solution of the problem of health, not one impresses me more than this *Advanced Biology*. It deals not only with the problem of health, but with other problems in its field. In recent years biologists have conceived the problem of health as coming more and more within their province and this book gives even greater emphasis than others of its kind.

It is a book designed for the secondary schools and is clearly the best book, in the opinion of the reviewer, that has come from the press. The subject matter is carefully selected, the language is forceful and direct, the topics are adequately discussed, and the make-up of the book is in excellent taste.

The topics of greatest interest to the student of health problems are those dealing with Food Nutrients, The Teeth and Their Care, The Digestive System, Mental Hygiene, Eugenics, Bacteria, Smallpox and Its Control, Tuberculosis and Its Prevention, and so forth. As a matter of fact, the central theme of the text is the problem of health. The book is an outstanding contribution in the field of health and should find a place in the biology and health classes both in secondary schools and teacher-training institutions.

Community Hygiene deals directly with the problem of health and includes in its discussion a number of important topics such as Insects and Disease, The Relation of the Weather and Outdoor Air to Health, Water and Disease, and so forth. It attempts to present the problems of community hygiene and is designed for the college student.

The purpose of the book is outlined by the author in the following terms: "What the college student wants and needs in this field of community hygiene is perhaps not so much a specific knowledge of the exact steps which must be taken to protect adequately a community from typhoid fever or malaria or to reduce its infant mortality as it is a knowledge of what in general the science of public health has to offer towards the solution of common community health problems. From a college course in community hygiene, a student should become familiar with general terms in which to think of community health problems for which he could hardly expect to learn the actual working formulae."

The book does not add anything in particular to the numerous other books that have appeared in the field. It, at the same time, gives a good summary of the problems of public health and provides suitable text material for the teacher of health courses in college.

Values and Methods in Health Education differs from the other books reviewed in this list in that it attempts to deal with the problem of method. The author does not attempt to give completeness of treatment, rather to select a few of the problems of health and to present the methods by which these facts should be presented to children. The weakness of the book lies in the fact that it attempts to cover the whole field of method and therefore, within the space devoted to the topic, does not offer material that would be of very much help to the teacher, since other texts accomplish much more effectively the work attempted in this.

It serves as an introduction to the study of health and no doubt will be found of use in introductory classes in normal schools. The book is well printed and is pleasing to the eye.

The Layman Looks at Doctors is a popularly written book, presented as a case history told by a patient treated by a number of physicians, with definite attitudes towards the patient, and includes Treatment by Minimization, Treatment by Methodic Brutality, and so forth. In the chapters dealing with the various methods of treatment, the author has a keen sense of humor and one would recognize, out of his own experience, the various types of physicians described. For literary purposes they are exaggerated but, nevertheless, they are real characters and this part of the book is worth an evening and will well repay the reader for his efforts.

The weakness of the book lies in its concluding chapter, in which the author attempts to make a case for the psychoanalyst. This chapter represents about as complete absence of any scientific, and one can almost say intelligent, presentation as would be possible. The author evidently is committed to a definite point of view and is so convinced of its correctness that the absurdity of certain assured facts fails to impress the writer with the ridiculousness of them.

There is no attempt here to criticize the psychoanalyst or to deny the value of that form of treatment in many cases. As a matter of fact, the physicians make use of the method of the psychoanalyst in his treatment but when an author seriously proposes some of the statements *made in this chapter as facts, it can only make one smile.* The book is worth reading in its entirety to get the interest in the treatment in the earlier chapters and in the conclusion.

The reading of the book will not accomplish the purpose of its author in his effort to make a case for a psychoanalyst but will make the intelligent reader critical and skeptical about this modern method of treatment.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, by PITIRIM SOROKIN and CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, xv+652 pages.

This book is unfortunate mainly in its title. It is not a book of prin*ciples and only in a limited sense is it sociology. If it had been called* "Demographic Comparisons of Urban and Rural Populations," or something of that sort, the reader would have known what to expect from it, and would not have been disappointed. It is too good a book to be so badly introduced. Its treatment is almost wholly descriptive, and covers almost the entire range of social traits from birth- and death-rates, through marriage, disease, intelligence, and crime, to attitudes and culture. There is also a section on rural-urban migration. It is packed with interesting and useful information, and will serve as an excellent handbook for those who have need to contrast city and country *populations.*

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

Economic Trends in Soviet Russia, by A. YUGOFF. Translated by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930, xix+349 pages.

This book is the English version of a work published in German and Russian during the spring of 1929. According to the author, this edition is different from the original only in the addition of statistical comparisons bearing on economic conditions in Great Britain and the United States.

The author of this interesting and carefully documented work takes the view that the Bolshevik attempt to thrust an economically backward country like Russia at one stride into socialism was utopian. He attempts to prove this by a study of economic conditions in Russia: (1) prewar, (2) during the phase of "war communism," (3) after the inauguration of the "new economic policy" by Lenin, and (4) during the most recent years. His argument is supported by abundant official statistics, by self-critical extracts from the Soviet press, and by quotations from the opposition within the Russian Communist Party.

His main contention is that the Russian revolution was only a *bourgeois* revolution wearing a communist mask; and that under extant conditions a socialist revolution was impossible. He does not charge that the Bolsheviks are insincere, but he does believe that they are outgeneraled by economic forces.

Eighteen chapters are devoted to this work. After a brief review of the conditions before and during the war, the author discusses present conditions in Russian industry. The chapters dealing with the Industrialization of Russia, Present Condition of Russian Agriculture, Internal Trade, Currency and State Finance, Labor and Purposive Economics and State Regulation are especially interesting.

This book gives one of the most accurate and comprehensive pictures of conditions in Soviet Russia that has come from the press within the past ten years. J. N. ANDREWS

Reconstructing Behavior in Youth, by WILLIAM HEALY, AUGUSTA BRONNER, EDITH BAYLOR, and J. PRENTICE MURPHY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929, 325 pages.

This welcome book deals with a study of 501 delinquent children for whom foster-home placing was tried as a means of rehabilitation. We are confronted with an account of how far human behavior was discovered to be modifiable by means of the temporary placement of young offenders in homes other than their own. Eighty-five per cent of the delinquents showing normal mentality and personality ceased to be delinquent under the conditions of foster-home care. The outstanding factors in lack of success appear to be abnormal mentality and personality, too short placement, and family interference with the foster home. It goes without saying that the process of placing out employed for these cases was of a high order of excellence.

Except for some psychotherapy, the case treatment is largely on a common-sense basis. There is a tendency to cite as cured cases illustrated for us from one instance or the use of one device, and the reader is scarcely convinced that the treatment holds. The fact of a fifteen to twenty per cent margin of failure means that we are far from being able to control behavior in anything like scientific ways, but the authors are seldom guilty of overclaiming for any of their results. From many viewpoints, the study is highly significant. It is a story in reconditioning human behavior by changing environment and it appears to confirm the family as the unit of social life, affording some subtle influences found nowhere else. There is presented here a hopeful, though not foolproof, program for the readjustment of delinquent children, a program that merits further development and scientific control for the light it will shed on the baffling problems of treatment. A. M. CONKLIN

A Study of the Educational Achievement of Problem Children, by RICHARD H. PAYNTER and PHYLLIS BLANCHARD. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1929, 64 pages.

With the idea of verifying a common assumption made by those interested in behavior problems, the authors studied 330 cases of problem children handled by the Commonwealth Clinics, 167 cases having been drawn from the Los Angeles Clinic and 163 from Philadelphia. The investigators were "interested primarily in the interference with school achievement by personality deviations, behavior difficulties, physical defects and social forces per se, uncomplicated by serious organic lesions or native poverty of intellectual equipment." The subjects ranged in intelligence quotient from 80 to 154 and they were studied by the usual clinical method employed in psychiatric clinics. With the theory in favor of personality maladjustment inevitably affecting educational achievement, the authors carefully scrutinized their methods when they found that problem children show no general tendency towards low educational achievement. Apparently, this is a fact. A large proportion of these children were reported as problems by their teachers and the authors note with satisfaction the distinct advance in the socialization of the school as evidenced by the increasing number of childhood problems which are not directly concerned with the curriculum or classroom routine. We need many more studies of this good kind.

A. M. CONKLIN

Educational Disability and Case Studies in Remedial Teaching, by HARRY J. BAKER. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1929, 169 pages.

The writer combed the elementary-school population of seven elementary schools in Detroit for students doing unsatisfactory work in the four fundamental skills: arithmetic, spelling, reading, and handwriting. Sixty cases were discovered to be in need of special coaching and coaching teachers were provided, each teacher covering two schools and carrying twenty pupils under her wing. After coaching, the pupils were restored to regular classes as soon as that was feasible and their histories were followed for a few terms to discover the permanence of their improvement. Briefly, 49 per cent of them improved in arithmetic, 41 per cent improved in spelling, 37 per cent improved in reading, and 100 per cent improved in handwriting sufficiently to bring their work up to grade standards. The total percentage of such improvement for all cases was approximately 45 and on the basis of his findings, the investigator recommends the employment of some special coaching teachers in all school systems producing children retarded, for reasons other than defective intelligence, in the important elementary-school branches.

A very significant part of the findings is that personal and social factors play a decided part in the disability, only seven of the cases failing to show pronounced personality difficulties. The personality difficulties cited are clinical material—daydreaming, unfortunate home conditions aggravating personality deviations, nervousness, excessive timidity, speech defects, and so on. These factors were not handled by the investigator who confined his interests to the improvement in school subject matter. The program in remedial teaching is expensive. It scarcely seems justified if the net gain is only higher percentages in school work, when the personal and social aberrations still persist. Remedial teaching would be a good adjunct to a mental-hygiene program but it can scarcely "go it alone," especially if it admits every step of the way that it is being defeated by factors in the total situation to which it is not prepared to attend. A. M. CONKLIN

Just Normal Children, by FLORENCE MATEER. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929, 290 pages.

The trail-blazing psychologist beckons the puzzled parent up roads that are often steep, but not without reward. The present volume is one of the most optimistic of the books on children's behavior problems because it includes the whole gamut, but no problem apparently is too serious to be ameliorated. We must particularly thank the author for the inclusion of the word "normal" in her title, for it augurs a turning point in our attitude of embarrassment over having, or being, a so-called "problem" child. Dr. Mateer makes abundantly clear that "problem" children occur in all kinds of homes, under the supervision of all kinds of parents, and indeed makes us wonder how any of us ever escaped falling into the category. The reassuring point is that few need remain in the category if, by chance, they tumble into it.

The book is instructively and simply written and will meet the real need of parents. One wishes the author had not chosen the question-and-answer method of presenting her material, but perhaps many of the parents will imitate the reviewer in reading the answers only. The treatment of the problems is often unconventional, but in specific situations, effectual; we know too little about treatment as such to be able to phrase generalizations with any safety. The presentation of an array of cases has particular merit as a way of educating parents who want to know. A. M. CONKLIN

The Growing Boy (Case Studies of Developmental Age), by PAUL HANLEY FURFEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, viii+192 pages.

The Growing Boy is concerned with the development of personality in boys between their sixth and sixteenth birthdays. It is the author's contention that unless we understand the characteristics of the pre-school period, the gang age, adolescence, and the various intermediate

ages, we are unable to meet intelligently the diverse problems of childhood.

The chapter headings are on Growth in General, Developmental Age, The First Six Years, The Six-Year Old, The Eight-Year Old, The Ten-Year Old, The Twelve-Year Old, Adolescence, The Fourteen-Year Old, and the Sixteen-Year-Old.

On the whole the book is well written and the case studies are well chosen to illustrate the principles involved. The author adopts a synoptic point of view. He utilizes the good material from many sources. In a few instances it seems that uncritical students would be likely to draw the wrong inferences from the statements given. On page 107 we have, for example, this statement: "Along with this increased bodily size comes an increased freedom from disease." The reviewer would like to ask: Is this increased freedom from disease due to the increase in bodily size or is it due to the fact that the child has been rendered immune to many of the contagious diseases in previous years? On page 131 the author alleges that Tracy and Kirkpatrick have written largely from the theoretical standpoint and that Stanley Hall's data were much more reliable. It is the opinion of the reviewer that both Tracy and Kirkpatrick followed Stanley Hall's views for the most part. It also appears that the author overemphasizes the suddenness of the adolescent changes.

The book should meet with wide reception. In courses in the field of the psychology of childhood and adolescence this book will be useful as a supplementary text. CHARLES E. SKINNER

History of Experimental Psychology, by EDWIN C. BORING. New York: The Century Company, 1929, 699 pages.

History of Experimental Psychology by Dr. Boring of Harvard University has no peer with its type of publication. It indicates the care of a scientist. It took eight years to write. It focuses attention on a specific period of the world's history, the period from 1860 to 1910, and it is interesting to note that Dr. Boring stayed within this period. This is a period in which psychology was dominated by the experimental method and scientific ideals. The Introduction, which deals with the history of science, is illuminating, and shows how scientific psychology has emerged from the other sciences which, in turn, grew out of philosophy. The philosophical and physiological antecedents of modern psychology are considered separately.

After dealing with the evolution of the scientific method and point of view, Dr. Boring presents the history of the physiological psychology in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here he deals with the work of Muller, Marshall Hall, Claude Bernard. He next picks up the story of phrenology and the mind-body problem. From that he goes to a study of the physiology of the brain, the specific energy of nerves,

the physiological psychology of sensation, and the period when hypnotism and mesmerism were in the foreground. He shows how experimental psychology was within the range of philosophical psychology for a period of years. In this he deals with the work of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Locke.

The English psychology of the eighteenth century receives due consideration as well as the British associationism and the German psychologists of the nineteenth century.

In chapter 17 the experimental psychology of Ebbinghaus, Kulpe, Titchener, and the psychological physiologists is fully discussed. In chapter 20 he discusses American psychology and its pioneers, such as James, Hall, Ladd, Scripture, Baldwin, Cattell, and others. He further shows the development of functional psychology, mental tests, animal psychology, and applied psychology. In chapter 22 he brings emphasis to bear upon *Gestalt* psychology and behaviorism, together with other contemporary psychologies.

The book is a monumental work—an outstanding piece of work—one which no student of psychology can afford to be without. A book which should be read by every major in the field of psychology in our universities as well as by the layman who is interested in the progressive growth and development of a great experimental science.

C. E. Benson

Statistics for Beginners in Education, by Frederick L. Whitney. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929, xviii+123 pages.

The purpose of the author—that of providing a brief text for a short course in statistics for the use of normal schools and teachers colleges with a view to clarifying simple procedure and defining terms—is admirably fulfilled.

The inductive approach is used by presenting a typical educational study of individual differences of pupils. This section represents a great deal of waste motion. The treatment of certain topics is necessarily superficial and one may question the advisability of including certain topics, as multiple correlation, while others, such as percentile rank, are neglected. The text seems to show no appreciable improvement over previous similar brief treatments, except in point of practical applications.

Paul V. West

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The department of educational sociology of the School of Education of New York University is offering the following program of courses during the year 1930-1931:

Monday

4.15-6.00 220.1-2
Social Determination of the Curriculum—Asst. Dean Payne

4.15-6.00 120.3-4D
Educational Sociology—Mr. Archer

4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Broxson

Tuesday

11.00-1.00 020.3-4
Educational Sociology—Prof. Stalcup

11.00-1.00 020.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Archer

4.15-6.00 120.27-28.
Health and Growth of School Children—Dr. Galdston

4.15-6.00 220.35-36
Community Institutions and Social Agencies—Prof. Zorbaugh

4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Archer

4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Dr. A. E. Belden

6.15-8.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Prof. Thrasher

6.15-8.00 120.23-24
Nature and Needs of the Child in Social Life—Dr. Galdston

6.15-8.00 120.3-4D
Educational Sociology—Dr. Belden

Wednesday

4.15-6.00 120.71-72
Social Adjustment of Atypical Children—Miss Conklin

4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Prof. Stalcup

4.15-6.00 120.3-4D
Educational Sociology—Mr. Archer

4.30-6.15 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Broxson
(University Heights Division)—

6.15-8.00 120.39-40
Education and Nationalism—Prof. Stalcup

6.15-8.00 320.9-10
Advanced Social Research—Dr. Thrasher

Thursday

4.15-6.00 120.45-46
Social Pathology and Education—Mr. Anderson
4.15-6.00 120.73-74
Visiting Teacher—Miss Conklin
4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Asst. Dean Payne
6.15-8.00 220.51-52
Personality and Social Adjustment—Prof. Zorbaugh
6.15-8.00 220.33-34
Community Organization—Prof. Thrasher
6.15-8.00 120.3-4D
Educational Sociology—Mr. Belden
8.00-10.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Whitley

Friday

4.15-6.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Broxson
4.15-6.00 220.75-76
The Family—Miss Conklin
6.15-8.00 220.5-6
Advanced Educational Sociology—Prof. Stalcup
6.15-8.00 120.55-56
Experimental Sociology—Prof. Zorbaugh
6.15-8.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Miss Boardman

Saturday

9.15-11.00 320.1-2
Seminar in Educational Sociology—Dean Payne and Prof. Stalcup
9.15-11.00 320.3-4
Seminar in Clinical Practice—Miss Conklin and Prof. Zorbaugh
9.15-11.00 120.57-58
Social Backgrounds of the School Child—Dr. Thrasher
9.15-11.00 120.4
Educational Sociology (given first term)—Mr. Whitley
9.15-11.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Archer
11.15-1.00 120.11-12
Education in Health—Asst. Dean Payne
11.15-1.00 120.20
Juvenile Delinquency (given second term)—Prof. Zorbaugh
11.15-1.00 120.49-50
Sociological Foundation of Learning—Prof. Stalcup
11.15-1.00 320.7-8
Seminar in Problems of Educational Sociology—Prof. Thrasher

11.15-1.00 120.17-18
Behavior Disorders—Dr. Robinson
11.15-1.00 120.3-4
Educational Sociology—Mr. Whitley

Pacific Southwest Sociological Association

The first general meeting of the Pacific Southwest Sociological Association was held in Los Angeles, January 25th, in connection with the Pacific Southwest Center of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The Sociological Association was recently organized for the purpose of promoting both sociological research and the teaching of sociology in the Pacific Southwest. The officers of the Association are: Dr. E. S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, president; Dr. William Kirk, Pomona College, vice president; Dr. L. D. Osborn, University of Redlands, secretary-treasurer; Professor George Day, Occidental College, chairman of the program committee; and Dr. M. H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California, chairman of the membership committee.

A New Professional Degree

A new professional degree, Doctor of Education (Ed.D.), to be granted by the School of Education of Indiana University, was announced recently by Dean H. L. Smith.

"The degree was created because of a long-felt need for an advanced degree in the School of Education," Dean Smith said. "It differs from the Ph.D. degree in three respects. Each prospective candidate for the Ed.D. degree must pass a satisfactory qualifying examination one academic year prior to the time at which the degree is to be conferred; a reading knowledge of the modern languages will not be required, unless it is needed for prosecution of the thesis problem, and each candidate must present a thesis on some problem in the major field of specialization, according to the list of requirements. Also, the thesis may be in the nature of a mature and expert evaluation and organization of existing problems in the field of education or it may be in the nature of an original contribution through research in education, regarded as an applied science," it was explained.

"The qualifying examination will consist of two parts, one written and one oral, and will be designed to test the general knowledge of the candidate in the field of education not included in the written examination, and his ability to react in dealing orally with professional subjects. The results of these examinations, both written and oral, shall be considered as a whole by the faculty of the School of Education."

The Boy and Girl Wins

A court decision of very great significance was recently rendered by Judge Nelson Sawyer as referee in a contesting suit to nullify a New York State law which gives the people of any one of several school dis-

tricts the opportunity of setting up a community junior high school. The decision as rendered holds the law valid, thus marking another milestone in the evolution of our school system and giving larger opportunities to boys and girls of junior-high-school age in New York State. Decisions of this kind, while occupying a very insignificant place in the press, are of great social significance.

Society Meetings

A communication from Professor Burgess, of the University of Chicago and also the secretary-treasurer of the American Sociological Society, says: "For the first time in its history the American Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting at the same time and place as the American Association for the Advancement of Science—December 29-31 in Cleveland, Ohio. This great assembly of social and physical scientists will be an eventful occasion . . . the meetings of the American Sociological Society will be organized around the increasingly significant topic of 'Social Conflict.' President Howard W. Odum is arranging joint programs with the anthropology economists and political scientists."

Nation-Wide Shortage of Trained Social Workers

Approximately 1,250 properly trained social welfare workers will be required in 234 cities of the United States and Canada during the year 1931, according to an estimate made today by Ruth Hill, personal director of the Family Welfare Association of America, as a result of a survey conducted among its 234 affiliated societies. The present acute shortage of trained workers will continue for several years during which more than 6,000 new workers will be needed for family welfare work.

Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, for many years professor of sociology in the University of Missouri, has recently been called to the headship of the new department of Sociology at Duke University. Dr. Ellwood is the author of many important books. The more recent are: *The Psychology of Human Society, Reconstruction of Religion, Cultural Evolution,* and *Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science.* During the last week of June, Dr. Ellwood delivered a series of lectures on "Reconstruction of Our Civilization" before the Auburn Summer School of Theology at Auburn, New York. During the summer session of New York University, Dr. Ellwood gave a course in "Education and Social Control." He takes up his work at Duke in September of this year.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

George Sylvester Counts is associate director of the International Institute of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor Counts is a native of Kansas. He received his A.B. from Baker University in 1911, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1916. He has been connected with Delaware College, Harris Teachers College, University of Washington, Yale University, and the University of Chicago. His fields of special interest have been educational sociology and secondary education. He has been a special investigator for the Commonwealth Fund, and a member of the Philippine Educational Survey Commission (1924). His most notable contribution to education is *Principles of Education* (with J. C. Chapman). He has spent the past summer in Europe, most of the time being devoted to Russia. His latest book is *The American Road to Culture.*

Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, is one of the best known political economists in America. Professor Ely received his A.B. and A.M. from Columbia University and his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg. As one reads the sketch of Dr. Ely in *Who's Who* and attempts to abbreviate it he finds himself in difficulty, because the productions have been so numerous, the membership in such a wide range of organizations, and the honors conferred are so extensive. Dr. Ely was a professor of political economy in Johns Hopkins, 1881 to 1892; from 1892 to 1895 he was professor of political economy in the University of Wisconsin, and an honorary professor since that date. His *Outlines of Economics* has been one of the outstanding texts in its field for a generation.

William Green has been president of the American Federation of Labor since 1925. Mr. Green came up from the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America to his present high position as a representative of labor. Mr. Green is the author of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law.

Miss Hazel Kyrk is associate professor of home economics and economics at the University of Chicago. Miss Kyrk received her doctorate at the University of Chicago. Before going to Chicago she held teaching positions in Overland College, Stanford University, and Iowa State College.

Professor L. C. Marshall is a member of the department of economics at Johns Hopkins University.

Sir Josiah Stamp, G.B.E., LL.D., Sc.D., Fellow of the British Academy, needs no introduction to American readers.

The JOURNAL *of* EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV OCTOBER, 1930 No. 2

EDITORIAL

The growth of education during recent years has been distinctly away from the formalized type of education characteristic of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The reason for this development is, of course, the marked changes in our social culture, particularly in invention and mechanical devices.

These social changes have required a new interpretation of the social life and a new educational procedure to meet the changed situations. Moreover, during recent years educational theory has undergone marked changes and the modern theory underlying educational procedure has been deeply influenced by sociological considerations. Ever since Dewey wrote his *School and Society* in 1899 educational philosophers have emphasized the sociological interpretation of the educational procedure. We have, moreover, philosophers like Finney and Kilpatrick who are making distinct contributions in the field of the theory of education in its sociological aspect. However, progress in education has been seriously hampered by the failure of either educators or sociologists to provide a body of scientific data and adequate interpretation of those data relating to educational procedure in its sociological implications.

In other words, we have had no science of sociology adequately applicable to our educational endeavors. The weakness of our educational practice in this respect may be noted in many points but notably in the curriculum, in the school organization, in administration and supervision, and in the measurement of our results in educational procedure.

Our research in these various aspects of education has lagged far behind. Practically nothing has been done in social measurement. Miss Strang, in the September number of the *American Journal of Sociology*, has summarized the measures of social intelligence as follows:

> "Social intelligence," which is frequently defined as "ability to deal with people," has two aspects, not necessarily related—the knowledge aspect and the functional aspect. Measurements of these two aspects have been devised: (1) paper and pencil tests to measure knowledge, and (2) real situations used as tests, rating scales, questionnaires, and photographs to ascertain the extent to which an individual reacts in a social way or possesses certain skills or traits judged to be useful in social situations. There is need for testing further the reliability and validity of these measures and for improving those which seem to be most useful in differentiating the individual who can get along with other people from the one who lacks this ability.

Although we have had some contributions in curriculum construction which have taken into account sociological factors, one of these being Rugg's reconstruction of the social studies, for the most part this aspect has been completely neglected.

The future of the development of education must take adequate account of these scientific sociological factors in order to ensure an education that conforms to modern social demands. This provides great possibilities in the field of scientific educational sociology for the future.

HIDDEN PHILOSOPHIES[1]

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

Must one see the deeper implications of his thinking? That a man may think extensively and even fruitfully on a certain level and yet not take account of the presuppositions which underlie his conclusions is a fact well established. If these presuppositions in their proper bearings are found to work in one definite direction, the whole may be called a philosophy. If an author does not know about the philosophy thus present, it may well be called hidden.

These thoughts have been brought forcibly to mind in connection with a new book on "civic education" which I have been asked to review.[2] Two considerations brought about this article rather than an ordinary review: on the one hand the apparent inconsistencies between professed theory and an actual curriculum outcome; on the other the questionable implications of the professed theory.

Any book on "civic education" must be judged in part by the social system it tends to support. It is here most of all that presuppositions must be considered. The more one thinks about it the more it seems clear that any educational theory consistently wrought and applied will have consequences to the social *status quo*. One theory may facilitate, consciously or unconsciously, a control by the few over the many by upholding a general education in and for docility and acquiescence. Another may seek by indoctrination and the teaching of taboos to fix in the youthful and (relatively) helpless minds lasting attitudes along some chosen line, say in defense of a cult or in antagonism to democracy or capitalism. Still another may teach a thoroughgoing and open-minded study and criticism of all that concerns man, with

[1] Published by agreement simultaneously in the *Educational Outlook* (University of Pennsylvania) and *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (New York University).

[2] Charles Clinton Peters, *Objectives and Procedures in Civic Education: An Intensive Study in Curriculum Making*. (New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930), pp. x + 302.

the correlative implication that the remaking of thought and behavior patterns in obedience to such study is normal and proper. How far consistent theory and school can go along the road of results may be debated, but that there is a direction of influence seems clear.

The professed theory of the book under review we wish especially to study because it is a theory widely held in this country, particularly among those who hope to make education into "a science." We may thank Professor Peters for stating it so clearly. The implications are thereby the more easily seen. These implications cut very deep into life, so deep that we must postpone their "civic" bearings while we study their more fundamental bearings on experience narrowly considered.

This professed theory may be stated in general terms as follows: "Science" is even now establishing a "new education." The new plan and bases are analogous to those of mechanical engineering. Life and our world of affairs is the kind of thing that can in time—granted probable increase of knowledge—be foretold with fair accuracy. Man as a behaving organism can, also in fair probability, become similarly well known. So that we can expect to be able to foretell with sufficient accuracy the "preadjustments" man will need in this about-to-be-foretold world of affairs. In this view of life, the problems and uncertainties will gradually be solved by the capable few and the solutions as "preadjustments" be taught to the many. This is to be the "new education." Science is here put forward as all inclusive. The bearings of the underlying and conditioning presuppositions of the theory seem hardly if at all sensed. Curriculum making becomes on this basis a social engineering, a blue printing of whatever may be decided (by the same few) to be appropriate (for the same many).

That this is in fact the theory put forward by the author as the basis for the book seems clear from many explicit statements. In a chapter on "the meaning of education" we

find (p. 21) a section on "education as social engineering." Note these key sentences and the spirit they breathe. "The engineer first plans the object he wishes to make." "He sets up his plan in the form of a detailed blue print." "After he has perfected his blue print in every detail, his next step is to have the plan embodied in concrete materials." Note here for later use the words, "has perfected his blue print in every detail." And see how the illustrations of what is dealt with exclude any regard for self-directing personalities—"the bridge, the electric transformer, the railroad bed," all entirely physical, all completely under outside control. "Now," says the author, "precisely the same procedure characterizes the new education." And he goes on to tell (pp. 21-23) how the "educational engineer" will determine subject matter and method by "scientific experiment" "on the measured outcome of scientifically controlled parallel-group experimentation." Note throughout the scientific exactness of every procedure. We are dealing with practical certainties.

Throughout this presentation as the correlative of exact procedures the author thinks consistently in terms of exactly foretold wants. For such an education with its "almost unlimited potentialities," "we need only know what is wanted and, given time enough and sufficiently intelligent purposiveness, we can supply it within any reasonable degree." And the conclusion in blackfaced type: "In order therefore to plan a functioning education we need to know what the preadjustments are the individuals in question will need." "This necessitates blue printing the outcomes we want, just as the mechanical engineer blue prints the house or the electric transformer he wishes to build" (p. 26). And elsewhere (p. 23) the words pregnant with social implication: "The only factor that can curtail this unqualified control over the future conduct of the educand, and that can impair the force of our guarantee to meet specifications, is imperfect engineering." And the discus-

sion recognizes no permanent or inherent imperfection in the engineering.

From the foregoing we get the following reasonably implied characteristics of this theory: (a) Education is fairly analogous to mechanical engineering. (b) We can know the child's future and his future needs in the same sense that the engineer knows the needs which the house or the electric transformer are to meet and in much the same degree. Blue printing is an equal possibility in both cases. (c) The child is the kind of material to be molded to suit our wishes in the same sense that the house-building materials are at the disposal of the engineer. Or at least, the molding in the one case is analogous to molding in the other case. The one is now already exact, the other can become so. Psychologically and ethically the two cases are parallel and analogous. (d) It is reasonable to expect that the new "science of education" will by sufficient procedures tell us precisely (a) what "preadjustments" the child will need and (b) how to get them. The fact that many educators as above suggested accept substantially the presuppositions here made, makes it all the more important that we examine into their validity. Of the four characterizing features above listed the middle two, foretelling the future and molding the child to our will, contain the crucial presuppositions. The other two follow in greater or less degree from these.

Can the future be foretold? Consider life, experience, the on-going stream of human events. Can this be foretold in the way needed by the theory under consideration? Is this stream such that thinking can exhaust its possibilities? Shall we in time become able to foretell what difficult situations the child will later meet so as to be able to provide him in advance with "preadjustments" to fit them? Or may it be objected that "preadjustment" is not the right term or concept to use. Considering life as we know it, are "preadjustments" the way of meeting it? Do we not

rather need an intelligent grappling with events as they come? Could any aggregate of such "preadjustments" (contrived by somebody else's prechoice and predecision) without intelligent readaptation enable one to grapple with life's succession of difficulties? Do we not need to consider the life process more closely and see wherein and how it can and cannot be foretold? And accordingly wherein and how its successive situations can or cannot be met on the "preadjustment" theory?

To any one who looks with open eyes, life presents an on-going stream of novelly developing events. In each such event we shall recognize familiar elements, many such frequently recur. Two parts or aspects or elements we must then recognize in life, the novel and the recurring. If we consider the stream of events more closely, we can see that it is a "one-way" affair. Time always goes forward. What has been once done can never be undone. And if we consider the *total* content of the stream, no one cross section ever exactly repeats a preceding. In very literalness each successive total content of experience is novel.

Now what about foretelling? For one thing the continuance of the recurring elements can be foretold better than can the events in which they will figure. That my chair will be here to sit in for a good while to come is fairly certain. How long I shall sit in it much less so. The telephone may ring at any minute. In general the simpler the recurrent element the surer can its future conduct be foretold, in uncertainty man ranking highest. As regards events, the longer in general the interval of prediction the greater uncertainty as to detail. Also the more complex the situation, the greater in general the uncertainty of prediction. Putting together all we know, it seems reasonable to say that if we disregard total contents and fix attention on chosen and limited features, some events, as the needs of food, clothing, shelter, etc., we can foretell

with fair certainty. But these had to be consciously limited before we could foretell them. When I shall become hungry, how hungry, where I shall be, what food will be available, how it will be cooked, who else will be there, what will be said, etc.,—if we consider the *total* content we can foretell the future hardly if at all. In the stream of time the recurrent elements are always present but they swim along in more or less abiding but still ever-shifting combinations within the waters of uncertainty.

What then do we conclude about fore-preparing or "preadjusting"? In any precise sense it must in general be limited to the recurrent elements. It can be applied to events as such only in very limited degree. The farther we can get from man the better will preparing—in the sense of devising precise procedures in advance—apply; namely, best of all in dealing by machinery with nonliving matter, the ordinary manufacturing. Among human affairs we can best prepare in advance with the simplest elements, as spelling or the mechanics of typewriting, in which individual choice has little or no place. Beyond these, preparation in the sense of preadjustment is less and less possible the more complex the recurrent element dealt with. *Always, however, preadjustment is to an element not to a whole (typical) situation or event.* This means then that preadjustment is (in general) limited to those activities which we expect to use as tools or means in dealing thoughtfully with a novelly developing situation.

We come thus to dealing with the unpredictable, with the novelly developing event. A very simple case will perhaps serve for all. I am walking north. As I am about to cross an east-and-west street I see a motor car that looks as if it might swing into my street. I pause to see. It continues south. I then walk on. Here I could not have planned my walking in advance because I did not know about the motor car; and when I saw it, I had to adapt my movements to the development of its program.

In this instance there are many recurring elements which I know, principally for present purposes the street arrangement and motor-car movements. Walking, recognition of streets, and of motor-car movements I had prepared in advance. I had learned these in such a way that I could use them as instrumental elements in dealing with such a situation as that described. But I had to contrive on the spot, in terms of things then occurring, my plan of action. Both in contriving and in executing I used tool procedures prepared in advance by means of which I could so contrive and execute. Preadjustment holds then of instrumental unit-element adjustment procedures but not of the inclusive plan of action. For dealing with the novelly developing, plans (except as possible construction units) cannot be made in advance. The actual working plan must be made at the time as the novel situation develops itself. The process of actual contriving as the situation develops to view is thinking (in any proper sense of that term). What we need then as preparation for dealing with the novel and unpredictable is thought materials (concepts, etc.) and a stock of instrumental unit procedures from which selection can be made as necessity demands. But this is not "preadjustment." For the novelly developing situation preadjustment in any inclusive sense is impossible.

We are now prepared to say why we reject Professor Peters's professed theory. The future cannot be "blue printed"—never can be in the sense demanded by the theory. "Preadjustment" in that sense is impossible. No educational theory based on prepared in advance, ready-to-use, preadjusted solutions can take care of the life we live. Life in any sense that interests us, even the humblest of us "allowed to go around loose," consists of a stream of novelly developing events, with many recurrent elements to be sure, and we have to deal with these novel situations each on the basis of intelligent grappling at the time. Using unit elements prepared beforehand, yes; using suggested

plans made by experts, yes; but at every significant juncture each must contrive for himself as best he can, how he will meet the situation confronting him. If we are to meet life successfully, we have to meet it intelligently. And that means that the remaking of old patterns of all sorts is a never-ending affair. Preadjustment, no, impossible. Remaking patterns, yes, continually.

Suppose the preadjustment theory were accepted as the dominant educational program, what would it mean? There would result a division of people into two groups, the few to contrive (directly and indirectly) the preadjustments, the many to accept them. This doctrine of "leadership" and "followship" is already preached. But it would besides mean the destruction of democracy (in fact if not in name), the assumption of social control by the unscrupulous powerful, the using by these of school systems to teach docility under the pretense that most cannot think anyhow. Already our so-called "scientific" education leans too much in this direction. Already this "science of education" minimizes thinking, purposing, responsible acting, and magnifies "habit" instead with acceptance of leadership from above. The book under review again states with disconcerting clearness this general position. "One of the inevitable implications in the present [*i.e.*, 'scientific'] trend of educational theory is indoctrination." "All education must inevitably take the form of indoctrination . . . since all education consists in a set of preadjustments for meeting the problems of life" (p. 26). How such a position lends itself to teaching the young what the rulers have chosen needs no argument. And interesting it is to read in plain words that we are to "forge out individuals according to order" (p. 24). To this end we are to begin "with the present interests and outlooks of the pupils and to *manipulate* these *covertly* towards ends *known to be right*" (p. 26.) [The italics are mine to show how easy the process of social control already thus becomes.] The "known to

be right" is a delicious assumption of the kind of infallibility always professed by those who would "covertly" "manipulate" others.

That the author either sees or means such a social doctrine I think is not true. The presuppositions and bearings of the doctrine I judge he has not examined. It remains a hidden philosophy. In fact, strange as it may seem, the author does not use this professed doctrine at all in the rest of the book. No slightest use is made of "scientifically controlled parallel-group experimentation." In spite of the ridicule poured upon "tradition" and "arm-chair philosophizing" and of the promise of scientific experiments, it appears that the actual curriculum was made first by getting the judgments of one thousand advanced students as to what elements should be included (a good way to preserve the existing American *tradition* and, second, by the author's own reworking of these into what is then inaccurately called a "blue print" as found in the book. The theory seems to be that one thousand separate "tradition" and "arm-chair" opinions when "telescoped" somehow eliminate from each other the tradition and arm-chair elements so that the result becomes "scientific." In other words, instead of a "scientifically" made "blue print" curriculum "perfected" "in every detail" we have a pretty good common-sense "arm-chair"-made curriculum in which Professor Peters profited by the suggestions of a thousand practical schoolmen. When we read that "choosing one's mate in the light of more pertinent considerations" is one of the specific "preadjustment" items to be included, we know that this curriculum is not a blue print preadjustment affair at all—as far from it as possible.

There are many matters that would call for attention if space allowed, such as the positive teaching of "taboos" ("taboos and biases built up by subtly manipulating public opinion"), the entire misconception of why others are interested in child purposing (the conception of "spontane-

ous" growth as given on p. 25 is but a caricature of the doctrine opposed). In particular the complete failure to see the need and possibility of developing each person, beginning in childhood so that he can and more likely will base his life increasingly on the best available meanings that can be got. In fact the aim of building self-directing personalities seems far removed from the author's thinking.

In conclusion, we seem to find three parts to the book, each with its own presuppositions, but in no case do these seem to have been examined for their implications. There are present three philosophies but they remain to the author hidden, unexamined, uncriticized. The first is the professed theory, dropped as soon as it was stated. This it would appear is the author's first choice of what education should be. Its more significant presuppositions we have examined. They are as stated totally impossible of being put into operation. The implications here we examined slightly, but enough to sense their antidemocratic trend. The second is the working theory underlying the making of the actual curriculum. The author seemed to think that this was the same as the first theory. In fact it differs very greatly, being hardly more than a gesture towards "science." Its presuppositions and implications we have had time to consider hardly at all. The third philosophy is that included within the actual curriculum. It is, as its origin would lead us to expect, the common American attitude, democratic in profession, with all the uncriticized strengths and weaknesses of American democracy, differing almost *toto coelo* from the first professed theory of life and education. We seem thus to have reached an answer to the opening question. An author may not see the deeper implications of his thinking.

CRIME PREVENTION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HARRY M. SHULMAN

The Sub-Commission on Causes of the New York State Crime Commission has concerned itself, during the past several years, with group and individual factors in careers of juvenile delinquency and crime. Its researches have been restricted to a study of the offenders whose careers gave evidence of an habitual basis for their offenses. These have been found to embrace the common crimes of robbery, burglary, and theft, crimes against which the public has at present no recourse, save to police, courts, and jails.

The failure of our system of criminal justice to deter most of these habitual offenders from future crime, and the degrading spectacle of thousands of young men of college age in our prisons and reformatories calls for consideration of programs of crime prevention.

The primary concern of the educator is the normal child, of whom we have nearly a million in New York City. Of this vast number, only a tiny fraction constitute the problem group. No more than two per cent are out-and-out conduct problems, less than a child to a class. It is essential to remember this fundamental fact when we feel inclined to be too impatient with our public authorities for their seeming neglect of problem children, in their preoccupation with the vast mass of nonproblem children. Nevertheless this two per cent represents a very important group to those of us concerned with a program of crime prevention.

There is a variety of evidence to indicate that children who are problems in school contribute more than their proportion to the ranks of criminals. The New York State Crime Commission has conducted four studies in which pertinent findings with regard to the careers of school behavior problem children have been disclosed.

A study of 145 young major criminals, representing a two months' sampling of the intake at Sing Sing Prison and the New York State Reformatory, showed that the majority began their careers of delinquency as children, presenting behavior problems in school, and later becoming truants.

Another study of 251 young men who six to eight years before had been discharged from the New York Truant School where they had been committed for chronic truancy, disclosed upon follow-up that chronic truancy was in a disquieting number of cases, the first step in a criminal career. Fifty-one per cent of the boys required the attention of police and courts during the six- to eight-year period subsequent to their release from the truant school, in the following proportions: juvenile delinquency, 21 per cent; offenses of minor character, 16 per cent; offenses of felony degree of the type usually committed by professional criminals, 14 per cent.

Based on estimates of criminologists that one per cent of the population of the United States engage in some form of crime, this group of 251 truants were responsible during this limited period of from six to eight years, for fourteen times their expected proportion of major offenders.

If these figures are indicative of the trend among all former chronic truants (and the sampling of cases appears to be a true unselected sampling, not only by manner of selection, but with regard to racial and nationality composition), then of the 9,020 children who have passed through the truant schools of New York City since the establishment of the compulsory attendance division, 1263 have become habitual criminals. Such estimates are a challenge to the present system of dealing with school truants.

Each one of these truants could have been dealt with early in his school career. The average grade in which

their truancy became a serious administrative problem ranged from grades 2A to 3B. The entire group became maladjusted to their school surroundings at an age so early that preventive work could undoubtedly have been carried on at that time with a great degree of success.

A third study, dealing with 201 truant boys, disclosed that truants disliked academic school subjects and liked shop subjects, were failures in academic subjects and successes in shop subjects; came from broken homes in 45 per cent of the cases, a percentage higher than exists among delinquent boys known to the New York Children's Courts; lived in poverty; were retarded at least several terms in school and spent their hours, while away from school, on the streets and in motion-picture theaters.

The fourth study, dealing with problem boys and their normal brothers, will be referred to presently.

The chain of circumstances that link the adult habitual criminal to the school child demands that we consider the nature of the processes that mould human character into patterns so different from the average.

Our findings suggest that crime causation is best studied, not in terms of unit factors, nor alone in terms of groupings of factors within the individual, but primarily in terms of the social situations which define the status of the individual within his group.

Within the social world of the delinquent child we find several active social processes at work that serve to widen the gap between himself and normal children. Chief of these is the process of segregation.

We are often prone to speak of our adult criminal groups as persons "hiding in the cracks of society." Modern sociology translates this colloquial description of the criminal group into one which views them as members of a special social class, unreached and uninfluenced by the codes and standards of other social classes.

We think of the criminal as belonging to a special social class because his class has no place in our normal social stratification, and we cannot use, in dealing with him, the usual techniques whereby conformity to a class standard is imposed upon its members. His values are not our values, his goals not our goals. We educators and social workers hold up to him the values of truth, honor, of the respect of one's fellowmen, of happy family life, of the joys of industry—the ideals of our class. We find we cannot reach him, as these values have no meaning to him. Therefore, we fear him, for he is grown beyond our social control. Neither ridicule, nor soft words, nor threats will move him to seek the approval of a group with whom he feels no kinship. We stand abashed before him. He is a superman.

Every member of the next decade's quota of this especial social class is today an indifferentiated member of a wider social class—that of the public-school child.

It should be a matter of interest to educators to visualize the steps by which a child who is a member of this wide, undifferentiated class becomes a member of that special criminal class, and the steps whereby the values of the educator are rejected.

There are a number of social situations wherein the normal child experiences a group attitude towards his behavior and appearance. In all of these situations, after the initial adjustment period is over, the child feels either that he does "belong" or that he does not. In the course of this short paper, one can present but a single situation within which the determination of status takes place. This situation shall be that of the schoolroom.

Consider a child of six, prior to entering school. He has developed a very complex set of responses within a given family and neighborhood background; he has developed patterns of adaptation and of conflict. If he is a

problem child, patterns of the latter type will predominate. Temper tantrums, lying, appropriation of objects, excessive fears, night terrors, enuresis, food aversions, negativism, all traits which display themselves before the age of six, continue in problem cases, long beyond that age.

He is, if a problem child, a master of the techniques of securing his desires through noncoöperation. He is comparatively a free agent. If he lives in a slum neighborhood, and has ignorant parents—and the average habitual criminal has been thus handicapped—he is not troubled by a rigid schedule of sleeping, feeding, and resting intervals. He plays at all hours of the day and evening—on the sidewalks, and in the gutter.

The problem child thus arrives in public school with a bundle of habit patterns that already form his personality. He is at once subjected to new and unusual forms of restraint. He may not speak, save when permitted; he must sit erect, and not wriggle, nor play aimlessly with objects; he may not wander about the room, nor gaze out of the window, but must concentrate his sensory faculties on his teacher's voice and movements. He may not leave the room, save with permission, despite the peremptory nature of his needs. He learns these new rules slowly and painfully. There is no printed code or rule book, such as guides the freshman collegian. He learns through command and reprimand. Not only must he be subject to a strange set of rules, which restrain his impulses, but he must adjust to a large group of strange children. He is thrust into a situation wherein the processes of domination and submission proceed at a lively gait. He may become a bully and dominate, or shrink from the hurly-burly and show signs of excessive timidity.

One of the teacher's primary jobs in the earlier grades is to develop habits of conformity in her pupils. The normal child responds rather well to mere command and to tone

of voice; to a sharp tone where a mild tone has failed, similarly to the responses of a well-trained dog. The problem child fails to respond so easily. He demands attention, and makes use of all the techniques acquired in the preschool period, to gain his point through noncoöperation. The teacher is irritated, her authority is threatened. But life must go on, and a classroom of children must be taught. Thus ensues a protracted struggle of wits between the problem child and the teacher, a struggle which often ends only when the child finally leaves school for work.

The struggle is rich in the variety of its stratagems. There is no end to the moves which a distraught teacher and a problem child may make in outwitting one another. A list of actions compiled by teachers for Wickman, in his book dealing with *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes,* includes such actions as whispering, inattentiveness, disorderliness, acting "smart," interrupting, cheating, failure to study, being neglectful, impertinent, careless, rude, overactive, untruthful, lazy, domineering, overcritical, meddlesome, and stubborn. In all, 48 traits are listed.

The preliminary defense mechanisms of the teacher rely upon devices aimed at direct subjugation. Our case studies develop a variety of these devices. Ridicule is a favorite one. A child is called stupid or dishonest or a liar; he is twitted regarding brothers or sisters with unsavory reputations; he is made to sit when others stand, stand when others sit; there is changing of seats, use of front seats, of seating boys among girls, of standing in a corner, of facing the wall, of requiring an apology, a confession, a promise to be good. These are devices in common use.

The ruler is often used on palms and knuckles. Chins are jerked, ears screwed and cuffed.

Thus far we have the ordinary process of securing conformity through coercion. Up to this point, the child is still a member of the normal group. Before proceeding to

a consideration of the process of segregation, let us take a glance, first at the type of child who is being subjected to this process of discipline, and second, at his behavior and interests outside of the schoolroom.

The problem child in school is often one whose adverse personal qualities and deficiencies have made of him a problem in group relationships outside of the school. If this is true, no amount of pressure within the classroom will change him for the better, and may even change him for the worse.

This challenge to the teacher is usually met by the retort that juvenile delinquency and crime are a result of breakdown within the home. The easy assumption, however, that environment works equally, or that all children will respond equally to parental supervision, is disproved upon closer view.

In its study of 251 truants the Sub-Commission on Causes found the majority of the factors which it studied threw no light on the reasons why certain families fostered criminal behavior and others did not. Carrying the inquiry to a still closer focus, we undertook to discover what factors seemed to be at work in causing juvenile delinquency among some members of a family and normal behavior among other members of the same family. This inquiry took the form of a comparative study of problem boys and brothers, the set-up of which has been described as follows.[1]

> The varying influence of environment is undoubtedly to be observed in every home, in every schoolroom, on every playground, for every child. But in order that significant differences might be discovered, a setting of the problem was devised that would bring out the maximum influence of variation in environment. The problem chosen was a comparison of the histories and mental make-up of a series of pairs of blood brothers, one member of the pair to be perfectly normal in conduct, as far as might be ascertained from investigations through varied sources and the other brother to be a severe conduct problem or a juvenile delinquent. In order that the

[1] A Study of Problem Boys and Their Brothers, Crime Commission of New York State, Albany, 1929, p. 11.

comparisons might be valid, a maximum age difference of four years was set as an ideal. (The actual average age difference was but two years and six months.)

The findings of this study disclosed striking differences between the problem and normal brothers. The problem boys were on the average duller in intelligence than their normal brothers, the median I.Q. for the problems being 75, indicative of borderline intelligence, while the median for the normals was 86, indicative of dull intelligence. Thus, borderline intelligence tended to be associated with delinquency.

The problem boys were, on the average, inferior to their brothers in grasp of school subjects, their median educational quotient being 81, as compared with 92½ for the nonproblem boys. Thus, incapacity in school subjects tended to be associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence.

School retardations were, on the average, 2½ times as frequent among the problem boys as among the nonproblem brothers. Thus, repeated school failure tended to be associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence.

The problem boys on the other hand were not only superior to their brothers in mechanical ability, but their scores were actually somewhat superior to those made by unselected New York City school children, 60 per cent of the problem boys exceeding the age medians of the latter. Thus, superior mechanical ability in an unfavorable environment tended to be associated with delinquency.

I might say at this point that there is a possibility that some of the success of the delinquent boys in picking locks, getting over transoms, and getting hinges off windows, might have been in some way associated with their superior mechanical ability. If it was, there is certainly the need for diverting this skill in other directions.

Every one of the problem group was a school-behavior problem. When rated by their teachers on the Haggerty

behavior rating scale, 91 per cent of their scores were above the average for normal-school children, in contrast to the less than average misconduct scores achieved by their nonproblem brothers.

Every member of the problem group was addicted to stealing. Practically every member of the problem group was in serious conflict with his parents or other members of the family. The normal group showed none of these qualities. The ambitions of the problem group were low in contrast to those of their normal brothers.

This study suggested that the problem group were undergoing a process of social segregation by virtue of their lack of attractiveness to normal people. They were less bright, less studious, less truthful, less honest, more addicted to temper outbursts and grudges than their nonproblem brothers. Had time permitted, it should have been most desirable to make a study of the play associations of the problem and nonproblem groups. No complete study of this nature was possible, but the indications are clear that the problem boys were in many instances members of troublesome gangs. There were evidences that the process of social segregation had gone so far as to require problem children to seek out the company of one another, not alone because of the pleasure it occasioned them, but because they had precious few others with whom they might play or with whom they were permitted to play.

At this point, let us return to the problem child in the classroom, who is being made to sit in the front seat, to stand against the wall, to hold out his palm to be slapped by a ruler, etc. In view of the deep deficiencies in problem children which we have just had disclosed, does not this rough-and-ready treatment by the teacher seem pathetic? Pathetic because it not only reveals the discrepancy between what is being done and what should be done for the problem child, but also because it reveals the bewilderment of the teacher in the face of obstacles beyond her ordinary

power to remove. The teacher at this moment represents society. And like society, when her primitive methods fail, she does what society does with those adults for whom ordinary controls and motives seem inadequate. She banishes the offender. Whether we like it or not, we must recognize that the philosophy of our public-school system in dealing with problem children is the same as that of the penal system with which problem adults are being restrained.

This is a matter to which our sub-commission has given considerable thought. It is a matter that we have discussed at some length and a matter on which we have rather definite opinions.

As I have indicated earlier, there is a strong possibility that the problem child, although bodily a member of the undifferentiated primary-grade class, may, by the time he is ready to become a truant, already have agreed in his mind that his interests and his associations lie not here, in the classroom, but there on the outside. He has probably already taken the attitude towards the classroom that an outsider would take.

But by the time that this child has become a severe conduct problem, the process of segregation is seen not only in his own attitude and in his occasional absences from the normal group, but is expressed physically through formal removal from the normal group.

It is not necessary to go into all the various processes by which this segregation takes place. May I remind you, however, of a few of these steps. There is, of course, first of all, the reference to the principal. The problem child may be placed in the principal's office where he may be lectured or threatened. There are quite a number of possibilities in that direction. If segregation to that extent is not sufficient, there is a special class. In many schools we have what are known as discipline classes in which the problem children are grouped under teachers whose capaci-

ties lie more in the direction of ability to repress than in the direction of mental hygiene or psychology.

If that type of class does not suffice, we have probationary schools, three in New York City, where children attend for a full-day period, for as long a time as is needed, in the opinion of their principal, to produce conformity. These children, by the way, are usually referred directly by the principal of the school to the probationary school.

The Sub-Commission on Causes has no fundamental objection to the necessary segregation of a few abnormal individuals who are utterly not amenable to conformity within normal groups, but with regard to the probationary schools, it feels that analysis of the child's difficulties and an attempt to give treatment within the normal school set-up ought to be tried first, and such a thing as segregation ought to be only a very last resort for a very few children.

We have beyond the probationary schools the truant schools, where children are sent, not merely for day-school purposes, but are taken out of their homes and are made to live there for a period long enough to secure conformity. However, we have seen that 14 per cent of a group of these truant-school children became material for the reformatories and prisons.

Society, then, through the public schools, among other institutions, is aiding the creation, in our opinion, of a special class of offenders many of whom later come to be identified as the criminal class, by a procedure of more and more severe segregation from which there is no recourse, because the school system has no means of breaking up the vicious circle through other types of approach.

Let me briefly indicate what we believe some of these other types of approach ought to be by reference to recommendations made from time to time by the Sub-Commission on Causes. Among those that particularly apply to the public-school system are:

Schools can meet the problem of delinquency in many ways and should do so. The delinquents themselves require sympathetic, patient study by specialists in child guidance. The school curriculum should be adapted to meet the needs of delinquents lacking capacity for or interest in the usual subjects. Conflicts with school authorities require careful study and treatment rather than simply commitments to disciplinary schools. Clinic facilities should be set up within the schools to carry out such a program of prevention. Adequate provision should be made for the service of visiting teachers and for vocational guidance and placement. (1928)

Schools should utilize the superior performance ability of potential and actual delinquents by giving them education through the use of concrete materials. The potential industrial value of superior mechanical ability must be appreciated and the responsibility accepted for the industrial training of this group of children.

The Department of Visiting Teachers and the psycho-educational clinic of the Board of Education should have increased budgets and personnel. Money should be spent here rather than on probationary schools which represent an obsolete, punitive approach to delinquency treatment that is unnecessary with children so young as those in the public schools.

Steps such as the limitation of initial enrollment to children mentally capable of receiving graded instruction, or the adoption of a "constant-promotion-plan," or a combination of both with a vocational program in the upper grades, should be undertaken to eliminate the emotional disturbances and dislike of school engendered by repeated failures.

The causes of school-behavior problems require a more adequate analysis than is possible with the present system of conduct marks. For the present praise and blame system of A's, B's, C's, D's, etc., must be substituted a more significant description of behavior in terms that make possible the planning of corrective personality treatment, on a basis much wider than merely that of approval or disapproval.

Teachers should be taught, in the training schools, not only academic psychology, but a course in behavior problems which will enable them to maintain an objective and impersonal attitude towards delinquents in the classroom, instead of falling into emotional and unanalytical responses of displeasure. Teachers lacking in poise and understanding should not be assigned to schools where there are many delinquency cases. (1929)

The large number of disciplinary and behavior problems among school children indicates the need of psychiatric and psychological clinics in schools for study of behavior problems and truancy, and for the adaptation of the curriculum to meet the mental capacities of these children. (1927)

Because of the defective home life, extent of criminality among parents and brothers, the number of broken homes, and the great proportion of working mothers among delinquency cases, any program for their supervision must include a subsidiary program of education and rehabilitation for their families. It is recommended that the work of *visiting teachers* be expanded to include the families, or the service of family welfare societies be enlarged to do more intensive work with families of delinquents. (1928)

AN OUTLINE USEFUL IN OBTAINING THE MOTHER'S STORY

MAPHEUS SMITH

As part of the procedure employed in making case studies of young children, including precocious, "problem," and "normal" types, the accompanying outline has proved serviceable. The purpose of its use is to enable the mother, father, or some other person who is intimate with the child to record in accurate and complete form records and impressions of the behavior and personality of the child from earliest infancy throughout childhood.

The interest of the sociologist may demand that the picture given of the child be limited to a cross section of the child's personality at a given time, together with a more or less exact story of the child's life up to that time. On the other hand, the outline may be used also by the mother as a guide to serial recording of important behavior and situations throughout the child's earlier years, beginning with early infancy.

Since the outline is formed for unsupervised recording it varies from the more customary type of schedule in giving more attention to material that may prognosticate achievements for the child, and a position of esteem for him in the minds of others. This bias of the outline is serviceable for use with unusually bright children, and, at the same time, it serves to prevent the disturbances caused in the mother of a generally well-adjusted child when she is confronted with questions intended to discover material on misdemeanors or other behavior difficulties.

The schedule generally used for transcription of records by intimates of the child is given with blank spaces for answers to queries, but the most complete pictures are to be had from a running account of the individual, expressing the material in such a space as seems advisable to the

writer. The belief we have in this method is founded on the results obtained when a perturbed individual writes the story of his life. The material in such cases is often extremely revealing, and often shows mechanisms and patterns of behavior that are not to be had in strict replies to the questions in a schedule.

Another advantage of this type of outline is the fact that mothers show willingness to write about their children, when the mothers would not be willing to give any sort of story about themselves. The use of the life-history outline has been found to depend for its success on a certain conflict state in the person approached, but the mother with the "normal" child has proved to be fully as willing to write about the personality of the child and his accomplishments as the mother of the gifted or problem child has proved to be.

It has been the custom thus far to use this outline as but a part of the total procedure in studying individual cases. Interviews with the child, with the mother, and with other intimates of the child are no less useful than was the case before the outline was organized. Nor is the testing of intelligence or emotional activity by means of standardized scales diminished in importance. The parent's detailed written story is to be considered simply as a valuable means of completing the picture of the antecedent factors that influenced the child before he was brought into his first contact with the sociologists.

GUIDE FOR THE MOTHER'S STORY OF THE CHILD

I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

1. *Present Family.* Describe the entire family as it is today, giving names, ages, and vocations of members. Describe their personalities. Give an estimate of all the members, and describe their attitudes towards each other and towards the child. Include accounts of others in daily contact with the child; for example, aunts or nurses.
2. *Family History.* Particular Individuals: Paternal Grandfather: Age, if living, or at death; country, town, and State of

birth; education, favorite studies; principal residences; occupations; intelligence; special tastes, gifts, or mental peculiarities; character, favorite pursuits, amusements; criminal acts; undesirable associates, antisocial habits, "queerness"; prominent positions held; prominent personages counted as friends; attitude of writer and family towards paternal grandfather; any other item that is a tradition for the present family or to the child. Give the same facts for paternal grandmother, maternal grandfather, maternal grandmother, father, mother, and all others who have had intimate contact with the child, or about whom he has been told.

3. *Relations of Family to Child.* Describe the relations of the above named persons to the child, what they have expressed about him from birth until the present, how much they have cared for him, how he feels towards them, and their attitudes towards him. Give everything they have said or acted about him that you think is significant in any way. Have they stimulated or inhibited him beyond the usual amount a child receives? Has he been told he is brighter or duller than other children in the home or outside; has he been told he is "bad" repeatedly, that his habits and associates should be changed? Are there any "great occasions" in the family that the child is known to enjoy, or that center around him in particular?

II. DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

1. *Data on Birth of the Child.* Child: Date of birth; place of birth, city and state; weight at birth, general health at birth. Mother: Condition during pregnancy, especially mental and physical strain (give especial attention to shocks during this period, such as great sorrow, fear, disgust, anger, as well as thrills of beauty, pleasure, or extreme happiness you remember); unusual incidents and complication at birth, parental attitudes towards the coming of the child.
2. *Child History to Two Years.* Was a "baby book" kept? Age of creeping; describe manner of creeping; age of walking; age of dentition; feeding of baby, breast or bottle; infantile diseases; sleeping habits; irregularities as to food and sleeping; habits of elimination, when and how established.
3. *Child Growth.* Persistent food fads; persistence of bad sleeping habits; persistence of enuresis, measures used to prevent it; persistence of other infantile elimination habits; regularity of growth; any period of rapid growth? Did child like to sit up late; did child show excessive energy in any direction? Care demanded by child in daily life, and in illness; habits of thumb-sucking, nail-biting, other habits, methods of correction; defects of sight, of hearing, of speech; any tantrums at any stage of development; frights, fears, terrors; accidents, or operations;

childhood diseases (in every case give age of child during illness, duration of illness, severity, child's reaction to the disease, its after effects, any repetition of the disease); punishment: body punishment, talks about his mistakes, scolding, shaming the child, other methods; reaction of child to punishment: sulk, pout, act sullen, other reactions. (Give these facts for each sort of punishment.)

III. INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. *Interests.* Give account of play interests from the beginning; interests in other children, in adults; scholastic interests; interests in reproducing or constructing objects seen, or sounds heard; tell what he likes to talk about or to hear others talk about; interests in punishing animals or children; destructiveness; does he collect or preserve objects? Does he act as a young policeman, keeping other persons obeying rules? Does he try to help those in trouble?
2. *Education.* Education by parents, nurses, brothers, sisters, other relatives before attending school; nursery-school experiences; kindergarten, when begun and ended, experience there. Grammar school: attitude towards school in general, towards teachers, towards classmates, towards school work; school record in detail, by years, including difficult and easy subjects; interrupted schooling, cause; private schools attended; other education; difficulties of control at school.
3. *Friends and Associates.* Is the child stimulated by his father, his mother, or any others in home? Avoidance of child by father, mother, or other member of home; awareness of child of this attitude; is any one habitually harsh with him? Encouragement or inhibition in anything; child cared for by aunts, nurses, brothers, sisters, or others; does he talk more freely with these than with parents? Does he get his chief stimulation and pleasure in social life from parents or from these others? Children as friends or habitual associates from the beginning until now; does he prefer to play with children or adults; expressed attitudes of child to others or of others to child; describe neighborhood life around present home, including types of people, foreigners, or steady well-to-do families. What is child's reaction to the neighborhood? Give data on former neighborhoods and child's reactions to them; does he desire to return to them to live?
4. *Reading.* Did the child begin reading before going to school? Who taught him? Extent of reading; how long to read a book; comments to adults about his reading, cautions of adults about his reading; comments about his reading to children; stimulation of elders to read; amount of stimulation; has his reading been directed? Chief fields of reading from beginning and dura-

tion and sequence of them; chief field of reading now; why have others been neglected?

5. *Intellectual Stimulation of Surroundings.* Reading to child; classical music; other music; radio; exhibition of pictures; careful speech heard in his daily environment; good speech demanded of him; do adults "talk down" to him? Poetry read to him, stories told to him; likes and dislikes for any of these forms of intellectual and artistic stimulation; stimulation to try to reproduce any of these types of activity, or to enter into appreciation of the beautiful or noble things around him; kinds of heroes and noble deeds impressed on the child; attention given to him by productive personalities, such as artists, musicians, inventors, scientists, writers, public men; reaction of child to these influences; talk of the family about desire for child or for any other member of the family for ability or fame in any intellectual or artistic pursuit; any stimulation of careless or pernicious nature, such as language, acts, pictures, or music.
6. *Evidences of Special Ability.* Precocity: Did you notice anything unusual about his early walking, or talking; was it much better, more efficient, or more perfect than that of the average child? Has this precocity been maintained, or is the child advancing more slowly now? Give anecdotes of how you felt and acted about his improvement or lack of improvement; was he slow at first and unusually rapid in development in learning or in some other trait at a later time? Give your idea of the cause of the change; games of adult level or above his age level that he has learned to play perfectly or in part; describe such cases fully, telling how much he was stimulated to play them; tell of any other activity he seems above average in, giving all possible details; does he play contentedly alone, invent games, draw, model with clay, play tunes on the piano, invent tunes, sing, whistle, hum? How well can he do these? Who taught him? Does he make toys or other articles, or invent machines, or draw diagrams of machines? Has he unusual memory, or poor memory? Has he talent for acting, pretending, mimicking? Tell some of his "bright" sayings, together with their circumstances; is he praised by any one for these sayings? For other accomplishments? Reaction to praise; do members of his family fail to praise him for accomplishments? Is he praised by others not in his family for his talents? Has he attracted the attention of well-known persons with his abilities and accomplishments? Has he had training in any of these talents, or in any other special lines, such as music, or expression, in which he has shown no talent? Does he make rhymes, tell tales, create stories? Does he show unusual reasoning ability and insight into problems? Does he ask questions? What sort? Does he ask questions of curiosity about people? Does he "gossip" about people? Does he ask questions about nature

or about the world in general? Give detailed illustrations of questions and answers made by persons in the family. Does he try to find out the answers to his own questions? Are there any difficulties resulting from his desire to make things? Does his interest in anything dominate him and exclude other things? Has he been crushed by indifference of any one when he is showing ability or interest in any of these intellectual subjects? Is he hindered in any of these things by any of his daily associates? (It is highly desirable for the mother to go into details concerning these facts, giving exact ages, and profuse accounts in anecdote form of circumstances, persons, and what was actually done. All actual results of activity, such as drawings, poems, and so on, should be preserved.)

IV. PERSONALITY OF THE CHILD

1. *General Rating of the Child.* Is he punctual, methodical, systematic, or the reverse? Does he finish things once begun or drop them? Quickness or slowness; effectual or ineffectual in what he does? Does he make up his mind rapidly; indecisive or hesitant? Is he impulsive? Give result of this trait. Self-willed or easily swayed? Hold grudges? Restless or dissatisfied? Nervous (give circumstances)? Secretive and reserved? Shrink from criticism, or from praise? Self-satisfied? Strong emotions, anger, envy, aversion, jealousy, fear, love; do they last long? Tactless or blunt? Make friends easily? (Complete data is desirable in all these cases.)
2. *Specific Data on Personality.* Tell of any qualities of leadership or followership exhibited by the child, in play, in bad temper, in pleasure, or in sympathy, including the persons involved and the circumstances of the occurrence; average position held by the child in his contacts with children and adults, both in his family and outside; anecdotes about his ego-centrism or interest in the feelings of others; self-consciousness; self-confidence, air of assurance; introversion, tendency to sulk; effect of nicknames and other unpleasant titles, and statements derogatory to his physical, mental, or social nature; his own idea of the part he plays in the life of his family or of his playmates or both; willingness to adhere to self-imposed rules, or rules imposed on him by others, or rules he agrees to; independence of thought; dependence on the statements of others as facts; physical courage in the face of danger apparent to him; ideas of right and wrong; mistakes and their effect on him; reasons for mistakes the child gives, either voluntarily or involuntarily; evidence of desire to please every one, or lack of interest in the attitude of others; ambitions for the future; tendency to live in the future, when content or dissatisfied with the present; stimulation of associates that causes him to consider the future and plan for it; things that

please and disgust him most; instances of lying; give purpose, convincingness, reaction of child when caught; truancy from home or from school: causes, reaction to being caught and his relations with the family immediately afterward; any attempts to steal, reactions to discovery and to corrective treatment; disobedience, character, frequency of occurrence; temper display, causes, violence of child's behavior, cause of passage of spell, origin, methods used by family to overcome habit. (The greatest possible detail is needed in the material on personality.)

Note: In writing the story of the child the practice should be to write full descriptive accounts rather than to answer questions in a few words. Concrete descriptive material is more significant than your own ideas about whether the action or trait is good or harmful. Abundance of material is extremely valuable.

A LOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

JOHN M. BREWER

What about the present social life of young people as the basis for an exposition of the field of educational sociology? Is not the approach through the study of these social relations logical, rather than that through the study of grown-up society? I should suppose that the aim of educational sociology is to prepare teachers to guide children in all their present common social relationships and thus to prepare them for the relationships of adult life. Why not then begin with the actual coöperative activities of children and youth?

Almost universally the books and the courses on educational sociology are treated from an adult standpoint. If the present textbooks on this subject represent the logical approach then we may fairly state that the sociology of education should ignore the individuals who are being educated. Perhaps the word "ignore" is a bit strong, but the reader himself may, through an inspection of tables of contents and indexes, judge whether or not there is any basis for this criticism. Almost universally it will be found that the common social relationships among normal children are given a distinctly subordinate position in the treatment, and in many cases are wholly omitted. There are occasional paragraphs about boys' gangs and one or two books give a page or two to clubs and student government, but no text purporting to deal with educational sociology approaches the subject through the juvenile society and its organization and improvement as it exists at the present time in the life of the young.

Now the logic of the approach proposed lies in the fact that the learning of coöperative relationships by children in kindergarten, elementary school, junior high, high school,

and college will most certainly be the best basis possible for the exercise of coöperative relationships throughout life.

Children are not suddenly born into ability to coöperate. They learn it gradually through carrying on coöperative relationships, whether awkwardly or not. If such social relationships were nonexistent in juvenile life no amount of theoretical study would prepare them for social living at the age of school leaving. The youngsters who learn to manage an entertainment, the boys who learn team work in athletics, the girls who arrange all the details for a school picnic, the pupils who organize and conduct the affairs of a club, the students who work together as members of a committee, and those who act as officers of the student government are in the very process of learning the skills needed in social relationships as they exist in the adult world. Or more logical still, there is no reason why the child's world with its individual and coöperative activities should not be given the same recognition of reality as we give to the world of adults, of which we seem so proud.

The corporate life of children and youth would form an absorbingly interesting subject of study. Young people coöperate in athletics, in boys' and girls' clubs, in Sunday schools, summer camps, school clubs, debates, dramatics, school journalism, recreations of all sorts, musical organizations, organized and unorganized play, scouting, miscellaneous experiments with work, and in the official or unofficial regulations sometimes designated as student government. In these various activities and many others, in addition to the coöperative classroom work so often used, boys and girls begin to experience the actualities of living together and begin to learn the principles of social relationships.

In addition to activities more directly concerned with the school every youngster has his social relationships in the home, and the task of being a good member as a child in the home is by no means an easy one. He needs guidance in such a task and if the students of educational sociology

will study his tasks they will contribute more than they do now to the solution of the guidance problem in the home. The school child is also a citizen of town, city, county, State and nation. He has laws to obey, and official relationships to observe, and in many instances he coöperates with adults and with his fellows in the discharge of these relationships. Again, in his early experiences leading to vocational discovery, he sets up relationships with employers, adult workers, and customers: the social relationships of a boy who delivers newspapers would by itself make an interesting study in juvenile sociology. The boy's or girl's recreational life is full of social relationships and these are rather different from those of adults in their recreations. In the care of his person and the preservation of health he has many interests and activities involving relationships with others.

It would appear that the field is ripe for a harvest of interesting investigations and for the preparation of a new kind of textbook, not only in educational sociology but perhaps in some other as well, as for example, in the case of civics, textbooks in which should doubtless begin with student government plans instead of with an exposition of adult citizenship. This study of student control through student government is of particular importance just now, for the reason that of all the difficulties of living together the regulative relationships are the hardest. Democracy is still a young and tender plant and its successful growth depends very much indeed upon the intelligent application of scientific study and analysis in the solution of its problems. It has always seemed to the writer a wonderful thing that our country can go forward with its gigantic experiment of Federal and State Government when the schools offer such an infinitesimal amount of actual preparation for citizenship. The field of educational sociology can make a contribution to the teaching of civic relationships among children, as a preparation for better forms of civic relationships when a well-prepared generation has come upon the stage and assumed the places relinquished by those

whose chief method of control is imperialism or dictatorship.

Educational psychology has somewhat avoided this wrong emphasis upon adulthood. There are many studies in the psychology and mental hygiene of children, though too often still the textbooks on educational psychology, as do those in our own field, fail to make the logical approach. The field of sociology is rich with values in the relationships among children and youth. These studies in sociology should deal, however, with the normal and usual, since out of such relationships must we build the structure of satisfactory adult relationships. Abnormal situations related to juvenile delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and the like, may teach us important lessons if we match each problem with effective proposals for solving it. But the students in our classes in educational sociology should be concerned chiefly with teaching children how to get along with each other and how to organize these normal relationships into forms helpful for the development both of the individual and of the group.

A study of juvenile relationships may logically be used as the lens through which to view adult relationships of a similar character. Thus, *d*, a discipline problem in the system of student government may be utilized to explain a national discipline problem, *D*, such as the control of law breaking, and perhaps also a problem of international discipline which is being considered by the World Court.

Every argument based on the word "educational" in the title of our subject would seem to point rather clearly to the logic of the position here maintained. It will perhaps be said that I have ridden roughshod over definitions and distinctions, as for example, that between social relationships and government, but my query persists: Since we are dealing chiefly with young people in our educational institutions is it not a logical approach to educational sociology to begin with the social relationships of youth? The writer has stated his case dogmatically in order to make it clear, but he welcomes discussion and contrary opinion.

DO YOU KNOW YOUR LIBRARY?

HUMPHREY GAMBIER-BOUSFIELD

Statistics show that more people are using the libraries now than ever before. Of these, professional people comprise the largest group, but those engaged in trades and in business are seen in large numbers in the public libraries of the country. College and university libraries show an enormous increase in the number of volumes issued to those engaged in professions. Teachers are availing themselves of the facilities of the university libraries to an unprecedented extent, the majority being engaged in some form of research work.

The libraries are called upon to furnish information of a varied nature. The student may want to read for pleasure; more often definite information may be desired which can be answered with material in the book collection, in the special reference books, in periodicals or, perhaps, in theses. Most of these students are very busy people. They are frequently engaged in a long piece of work and often their time is limited.

Unfortunately, these people usually know little about a library and many go about in a dazed and bewildered condition trying vainly to find some material that will help them. At one side of the room they see a desk whereon is the word "Information." Making for the desk, they ask the reference librarian some vague questions as to the library having anything on this or that topic. The librarian wishes to help the students all he can. Certainly the library has material on the subject. To get at this material, consult the card catalogue. The periodical indexes will mention any articles published in the magazines dealing with the particular topic. There are a number of reference books on that subject; these will furnish useful bibliographies; but, first use the card catalogue. With that the

busy reference librarian must start another novice in the use of the library on the scent of information. Lack of time prevents the librarian from actually looking up the material. He can only direct the student and place material in his hands; most of the actual work must be done by the borrower.

The student goes to the catalogue as directed. Now, he has often used a catalogue, so he should not experience any trouble. Looking through the cards, he comes across an item which deals with his subject. He fills out the call slip, takes it to the proper desk, and waits for the book. Soon the slip comes back but no book appears. The librarian informs him that he has not copied the catalogue card correctly; he has copied down the name of the author, but the title is entirely incorrect because, he is told, the subject heading has been used instead of the title of the book. This error is corrected. The librarian suggests that he look for material in the United States section of the catalogue. After much hunting he gives up in despair, finding that there are no less than three United States sections, one marked United States (Official); another, United States (Subjects); the third, United States (Titles). In desperation he returns to the information desk, realizing that his knowledge of the public card catalogue is decidedly faulty.

The majority of people who use the libraries know almost nothing about the main index and directory of all the books in the collection—the catalogue. Every library in the country uses virtually the same method of listing the books in the catalogue. If the individual cannot understand the catalogue sufficiently well to learn what the library has on any particular subject, much of the most valuable material will be permanently lost to him. A parallel situation is seen in the student of medicine who lacks even a rudimentary knowledge of Latin. A mass of valuable literature on medicine remains a closed book. This lack of information regarding standard library practices is even

more serious for the professional man or woman. A teacher is interested in a far broader field than that of medicine. The teacher deals with the ever-changing thoughts of mankind, with human nature and its manifold reactions to situation and environment. This is the substance of literature. Then there is the mass of current material on topics of daily interest, teeming with the activity that goes on about us. The storehouse of this wealth of literature is the library; the key to the storehouse is the physical and very practical catalogue.

Reckless waste of valuable time in looking up data and in accumulating material for study is entirely unnecessary. If those who use the libraries know the general principles underlying the cataloguing of books which, fundamentally, are uniform in libraries throughout the United States, they will learn the technical language of their profession and the entire resources of the library will be at their disposal through the agency of the card catalogue. A short time devoted to the consideration of practical suggestions on how to use the library efficiently will, in the end, be the means of conserving the valuable time of the student.

The card catalogue is the index and the directory of the whole book collection. The catalogue should be consulted to ascertain whether or not the library has the material which is wanted. If a person is doubtful of his ability to find material in the catalogue and therefore asks the reference librarian if the library has such and such a book, valuable time has been wasted. The librarian may know that the library has the book but it is the borrower who must get the class mark, and this can only be found in the catalogue. Once more the borrower is confronted with the inevitable and mystifying catalogue. Now he must find out how to use it. In doing this, he might as well learn how useful the catalogue may become and what a time- and labor-saving device it may be if its uses are known.

The first thing to remember about the catalogue is that almost every book is listed in three different ways:

1. A book is listed under the name of the author. If the name of the author is known, the book may be looked up by this method. As an illustration, assume that you want the book, *Why we behave like human beings*,[1] by George A. Dorsey. The first card for this book would look like the following:

QP34 Dorsey, George Amos, 1868—
.D71 Why we behave like human beings, by George A. Dorsey. New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1925

Fig. 1

2. A book is listed under the title if the title is distinctive or unusual. If the name of the author is not known the book may be looked for under the title. Titles are arranged in the catalogue alphabetically. Fig. 2 shows a title card for the same book.

QP34 Why we behave like human
.D71 beings.
Dorsey, George Amos, 1868—
Why we behave like human beings, by George A. Dorsey. New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1925

Fig. 2

[1] In library practice common nouns in titles, except the first word, are written with small letters.

3. A book is listed by subject. This is useful when the author and title are not known. The only thing known is that the book deals with, perhaps, psychology; one can find the book by looking for this subject. When one wants to know what books there are in the library, the subject headings are consulted. The subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Fig. 3 shows a subject heading card.

QP34 Psychology

D71 Dorsey, George Amos, 1868—

Why we behave like human beings, by George A. Dorsey. New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1925

(The underlined word is in red ink)

Fig. 3

The author, title, and subject cards are arranged in one alphabet in a dictionary catalogue.

Most libraries require borrowers to fill out a call slip giving the author and title of the book desired, and the call number or class mark; also, the borrower's name and address. The author's name, the title of the book, and the class mark must be copied exactly from the catalogue card. Failure to make an exact copy of this information often results in the book's not being delivered.

It has been found that the errors, which are made each day by a great number of persons, fall into three groups. The principal mistakes are listed below.

Error 1. Copying the class mark incorrectly. The class mark must be copied exactly. The symbols will mean little to the borrower but they are all-important to

those who actually got the book from the shelves. These symbols are a shorthand which tells exactly where the book is to be found.

Error 2. Copying the subject heading instead of the title. At the top of the catalogue card, usually in red type or underlined, is the subject in which the book is classed. Do not confuse the subject heading with the title. The author and title of the book appear below in black type. (For subject heading card see Fig. 3.)

Error 3. Failing to notice an analytic entry. If a volume contains several important and separate works, a card is made for each of these. The individual cards made for each of the separate works refer to the volume in which they are to be found. If the borrower wants one of these works and asks for it by its author and title, the desired work will not be delivered. One must ask for the volume in which the separate work has been bound. Suppose one wants a classic such as Tottel's *Miscellany*. If the catalogue card is read through, it will be seen that it says: In Arber's English reprints, volume 4. To obtain the *Miscellany* of Tottel, therefore, one must ask for volume 4 of Arber's English reprints and not for Tottel's *Miscellany*.

Often, periodicals are much more useful than books. It is reported that when a fire occurred in a library, the librarian, realizing that part of the collection would have to be sacrificed, exclaimed: "Let the books burn but save the periodicals!" This librarian knew the value of the periodicals and how much harder it is in many cases to replace destroyed back volumes of periodicals than it is to replace books. Because of the rapid change in the world of thought, books which were once of practical value soon become merely interesting historical or literary documents whereas periodicals, on the other hand, keep up to the minute with news, discussion, comment, or criticism in the

field in which each periodical specializes. Students are well repaid when they make an attempt to keep up with periodical literature. Most interesting material may be found by looking over the periodicals on the current periodical shelves. To look for some particular article or for articles on some particular subject is another matter. One of the following periodical indexes will be of use for this.

The important indexes to periodicals are:

1. Readers' guide to periodical literature
2. Education index
3. Industrial arts index
4. International index to periodicals

Of these, the Readers' guide and the Education index are the most used by teachers.

In the Readers' guide, references are given to volume and page, to the exact date of the article and inclusive page numbers. It also indicates whether the article has illustrations.

Education index contains a complete author-subject index for all the important periodicals in the field of education. In addition to this the Education index gives a check list of professional books arranged by subject; also, lists of publications of institutions, schools, colleges, and universities; also, a list of books on tests and scales. Notes are frequently given regarding helpful pamphlets, etc., which can be obtained, often free of cost, from societies or from the Government.

The Industrial arts index is a subject index of engineering and trade periodicals.

International index to periodicals is an author and subject index to foreign periodicals as well as to American.

Many people experience difficulty in deciphering the abbreviations used in the periodical indexes. Below is a typical item taken direct from one of the issues of the Readers' guide. Following this is an explanation.

AIRSHIP factories

Zeppelin's American home; two world's largest Zeppelins for our navy will be built in our hangar at Akron, O., W. E. Burton. il Sci Am 141: 230-3 S'29; Same cond. Lit. Digest 102:35-6 S14'29.

This means that the article is to be found in the periodical *Scientific American*, volume 141, pages 230-233, issue of September, 1929. The article is by W. E. Burton and it is illustrated. The same article is contained in the *Literary Digest*, volume 102, pages 35-36, in the issue of September 14, 1929. Remember that the volume number is represented by the number before the colon, the pages by the number after the colon. An explanation of the abbreviations used is given at the front of each issue of the index.

Students frequently want such society or Government publications as:

1. National Education Association. Yearbook
2. National Education Association. Addresses and Proceedings
3. National Society for the Study of Education. Yearbook
4. U. S. Bureau of Education. Bulletin
5. Columbia University. Teachers College. Contributions to Education

In each of these cases, the material is listed in the catalogue by the word underlined. Students of education frequently have difficulty finding the "Contributions to Education," because this is not under "Contributions," but under Columbia University.

Item 4 in the above list brings up another matter which, if thoroughly understood, saves much time when looking for material. When looking in the catalogue for material dealing with New York (City), New York (State), or the

United States, the following is important. The same facts apply to both the New York section and the United States section. The United States section is explained below:

One set of trays is marked:

United States. (Official)

In these trays are listed official documents (material published by official departments, as: U. S. Bureau of Education. Bulletin) and material about those departments. Such books are also listed under the name of the author.

Example: In the tray marked: United States (official a-d) will be found such department publications (arranged by underlined word) as:

U.S. Bureau of the budget

U.S. Bureau of the census

U.S. Children's Bureau

U.S. Congress (and others)

For this material look first under U.S.; then under the key word as underlined. Cards for books about the U. S. Congress follow the cards for official publications and are listed on subject cards (illustrated, also, in Fig. 3). An illustration of this follows:

U.S. Congress	328
Brown, George Rothwell	B
The leadership of Congress	

To ask for this book, the author, Brown, and title, *The Leadership of Congress,* should be written on the call slip.

Another set of trays is marked:

United States (Subject)

In these trays is listed material about the United States in general. Example: Under the heading U.S. Descrip-

tion and travel, are listed all books on this subject, by author. An illustration of this follows:

U.S. Description and travel	917
Anburey, Thomas	A
Travels through the interior parts of America. . . .	

On the call slip, the author and title of the book should be given, not the subject heading.

A third set of trays is marked:

United States. (Titles)

In these trays are listed titles of books beginning with "United States" as:

"The United States oil policy"

Also: Publications of and about corporations or institutions, the name of which begins with "United States," as:

United States steel corporation	306
	C
Bergland, Abraham	
The United States steel corporation no. 73 (Studies in history, economics, and public law, ed. by the faculty of political science of Columbia University. vol. XXVII, no. 2, whole no. 73)	

Be careful to ask for this by writing on the call slip:

Author: Columbia University. Studies in history, economics, and public law.

Title: (whole no. 73.)

Periodicals are a good source of information, but another valuable source is the reference collection. Reference volumes usually do not circulate but are kept in the library for research. To give an idea of the variety of the subjects covered by the reference books, some of those in the English language are given here.

For those desiring information regarding British authors, there is the Dictionary of National Biography. American authors are given, with biographical data, in Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography. Information about contemporary people of importance can be found in Who's Who and Who's Who in America.

Helen Rex Keller's book, *A Readers' Digest of Books*, and the set known as the Book Review Digest, are useful for résumés of novels. The first of these gives complete synopses of many other forms of literature besides the novel. The U. S. catalogue with its supplements lists all books in print.

In the field of literature there is Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature, the Cambridge History of American Literature, and the Cambridge History of English Literature.

For history there is The Cambridge History of the British Foreign Policy, The Cambridge Mediaeval History, and The Cambridge Modern History.

Those interested in the fine arts will use the Cyclopaedia of Painters and Paintings and Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, or the Dictionary of Architecture and Buildings. In this group there is also a set called the Lives of Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, by Vasari, and Muther's History of Modern Painting.

Mythology is represented in a set entitled Mythology of all races. Those looking for plays, poems, or essays suitable in celebrations will find Schauffler's, Our American Holidays, a series of great use. The question such as: What happened on such and such a day?—can be answered in The American

Dictionary of Dates or Chambers's The Book of Days, the latter arranged by date.

Education is covered by Monroe's Cyclopaedia of Education; invention, by A Popular History of American Invention; religion, by the Catholic Encyclopedia, Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, and the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

Encyclopedia of general information include the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the New International, and the Americana. The first is best for more scholarly articles, the second, the New International, contains many articles on small subjects, with many illustrations. The Americana is an encyclopedia of current events. For further and later information on current events the Public Affairs Information Service should be consulted. The New York *Times* Index will help locate material on the latest current events.

Information regarding government is best found in the Cyclopedia of American Government, Legislative Manual of the State of New York, and the Statesman's Year-Book. Europa Yearbook gives information on European governments. The Statistical Abstract of the United States gives many statistical tables.

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations traces phrases and proverbs to their sources in ancient and modern literature. Brewer's The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable lists names of real and imaginary characters in literature, explains many phrases, and gives much information on odd and unusual things.

The World Almanac, published yearly, gives valuable information with many tables of statistics on a great variety of subjects.

These are some of the most useful reference books. They should be used in conjunction with the card catalogue and the indexes to periodicals.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE: *It is designed to make this department a clearing house (1) for information about current research projects of interest to educational sociology and (2) for ideas with reference to research methods and techniques in this field.*

Readers are urged to report their own research projects and to submit information regarding other projects of which they have knowledge. Suggestions as to methods of research will be welcomed and will be given publicity in this department.

From time to time this department will also make its readers acquainted with research resources in educational sociology. Contributions of this type from readers will also be welcomed.

It is desirable to make the program of research in educational sociology a coöperative one. To this end the names and addresses of those engaged upon research projects will usually be given in order that readers may exchange with them ideas upon related projects.

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

The ninth annual session of the Institute for Social Research was held at the University of Chicago, on Saturday, August 20-23, in the new Social Science Research Building.

The purpose of the Institute was to permit expression of the most recent research that is going on whether such research is complete or only in the halfway stage. The discussion which followed each presentation served to bring out issues and difficulties which were valuable to others working in similar fields.

The main topic of the Institute centered about "cultural contact," but other subjects found a place on the program including reports on research in the Orient, nationality, the marginal man, psychiatry and sociology, urban and rural subjects, and scientific methods.

The new Social Science Research Building in which the conference was held is the first laboratory of its kind. It was dedicated on December 16 and 17, 1929, and the cere-

monies were attended by guests from various parts of this country and by three guests invited for the occasion from abroad: Sir William Beveridge, director of the London School of Economics and Political Science; Professor Celestin Bougle, of the Sorbonne, and Professor Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, of the University of Hamburg.

Many addresses were made both at the building exercises and at the special luncheon and banquet. Among the addresses, the following may be mentioned: Professor Wesley C. Mitchell's paper entitled "The Function of Research in the Social Sciences"; John E. Merriam, "Significance of the Border Area Between Natural and Social Sciences"; Sir William Beveridge, "International Coöperation in Social Science"; and Dr. Harold G. Moulton, "Coöperation in Social Science Research."

The new building contains the offices of practically all the instructors in social sciences. There is a handsome and spacious room for larger gatherings and several seminar rooms each with a great oval table. The officers of several journals, including *The American Journal of Sociology*, are in the building. Rooms especially equipped for statistical and anthropological research as well as rooms for display of maps and the working out of ecological projects are available. A lounge where tea can be served adds to the attractiveness of the new building.

A Study of American Newspapers[1]

An analysis of the proportion of the total news space devoted to articles of foreign origin in 18 issues each of 40 American metropolitan morning newspapers. The chief aim was to determine the statistical reliability of differences between newspapers based on a sample of this size and the study is therefore to be viewed as an exploratory one, preliminary to a more adequate investigation on a larger scale.

[1] Statement furnished through the courtesy of Professor Julian L. Woodward, Department of Economics, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Co-operative Social Research

Dr. Neva R. Deardorff, Director, Research Bureau, Welfare Council of New York City, has formulated a statement as to the possibilities and limitation of coöperative social research.[1] Dr. Deardorff points out that the increasing necessity for carrying on continuing social inquiries from the standpoint of councils of social agencies and community chests. In previous years the social agency worked more or less alone in making studies of its problems but now it is realized that the questions raised by such studies dovetail with the results of other studies and call for further investigations.

Dr. Deardorff concludes that "if social research is to yield its best results for community welfare each study should be related to a whole program." Every community should have a general research program including the types of facts that it wants to know about itself, and when individual projects are chosen they should be seen in relation to the total situation picture. Dr. Deardorff's outline of the Possibilities and Limitations of Coöperative Social Research which follows, which was prepared for a meeting of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, is intended only "as a suggestive beginning of those processes by which research groups may delineate and clear their fields and perhaps their own minds in advance of formulating a program."

I. Should social agencies be entrusted with funds to carry on research?

1. Provision for auspices and leadership
2. Continuous supervision
3. Criteria of quality
   a) Expert consultation
   b) Sound method
   c) Statements accurate and conclusions correctly drawn
4. Distinction between
   a) Planning
   b) Fact-finding research and the drawing of conclusions
   c) The drafting of recommendations

[1] Published in *Better Times*, June 2, 1930, pp. 30-31.

II. Planning an inclusive research program for a community

1. Types of social inquiries now pursued

a) Inventories of social resources

1. For whole communities
2. For socially handicapped groups
3. For neighborhoods

Inventories deal primarily with quantitative features such as services rendered, personnel, expenditures, unit costs, limitations of intake, interrelationships with other services, geographical spread. Qualitative analyses using already accepted standards as measures may be a part of such inventory. The Russell Sage Foundation is soon to publish a list of some 2,700 "surveys."

b) Descriptions of social problems—hardship, injustice, maladjustment, or other situations, thought to be "problems." Such inquiries seek to learn the extent, "the factors," and the antecedents of the problem. Illustrations: Juvenile delinquency, child neglect, child labor, child marriage, retardation of school children, desertion and nonsupport, working mothers, unemployment, old-age dependency, neglect of physical defects and of health needs, bad working conditions, neglect of play needs, etc.

c) Continuous measures of incidence of various forms of need: relief, health service and care in illness, child guidance, employment, institutional care for children, for aged, for offenders, etc.

d) Demographic studies, "human ecology," rural social groupings, including the human composition, the structure of social relations and social, geographical, and political boundaries of the community itself would seem to be fundamental to an understanding of any social condition or problem in it.

e) Studies of method. Study of method implies freedom to experiment and resources sufficiently flexible that programs, schedules, records, personnel, etc., can be rearranged from time to time.

f) Working demonstrations. The value of a demonstration as fact finding depends entirely upon the adequacy of its provision for measuring the result sought and analyzing the factors in success or failure.

g) Studies of social causation

1. Inquiry into the past?
2. Record keeping now that will furnish data in the future?

2. Selection of starting points in the pursuit of such a program

a) Advantages of large studies
b) Advantages of small studies.

3. Integration of isolated pieces of work into the whole program

III. Some problems in coöperative research

1. Time and timeliness

2. Coöperative processes—confidential manuscripts, premature publicity, criticisms of existing standards
3. Cost and cost-accounting elements

In this connection attention should be called to a very interesting article by Dr. Ernest W. Burgess of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago on the topic "The Value of Sociological Community Studies for the Work of Social Agencies."[1] Dr. Burgess discusses some typical sociological community studies, taking up the growth of the city and its areas, basic social data, and cultural description and analysis, and points out the value to social agencies of such a study. An interesting discussion of Dr. Burgess's paper follows by Jesse F. Steiner on "Is the Neighborhood a Safe Unit for Community Planning"; by LeRoy E. Bowman on "Local Community Studies and Community Programs"; and by Elwood Street on "Some Community Uses of Sociological Studies."

Points of view represented in Dr. Deardorff's statement and Dr. Burgess's article indicate an increasing recognition of the necessity of studying the total situation in dealing with any human or social problem.

[1] *Social Forces*, June 1930, pp. 481-491.

BOOK REVIEWS

Curricular Problems in Science at the College Level, by PALMER O. JOHNSON. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 188 pages.

Do prerequisite courses, so extensively given by colleges as basic to more advanced courses, actually function as such? Is the sequent course built upon the material taught in the prerequisite course? Are students right in their assertions that there is often no sequence value? Have these courses ever been carefully studied to determine the answer to such questions? Is the positive character of faculty opinion, as to the value of such courses, apt to be in inverse proportion to the scientific evidence in the case?

Professor Johnson's study concerns the answer to some of these questions with particular reference to general botany as a prerequisite to certain sequent courses in the College of Agriculture and Forestry at the University of Minnesota. Nine quarter credits in general botany constitute the present requirement at that institution. Certain of the conclusions reached are so striking as to deserve quotation:

> "A comparison of the mean achievement score of students who had had General Botany 4-5-6, with that of students who had not had it in such courses as Farm Crops 1, Fruit Growing 6, and Vegetable Growing 32, revealed no significant differences. This is quite likely due to the fact that in these sequent courses the students are taught the botany deemed necessary for the pursual of the course within the course itself."

Professor Johnson's study of the permanence of learning shows that after three months the mean score on a delayed recall test indicated a loss of retention of 43.4 per cent; after six months 47.8 per cent. Other interesting conclusions are that "there was found to be no significant difference between the achievement of those students who took botany as a required subject and those who took it as an elective": "there appears to be some tendency for those students predominantly liking science to attain a superior achievement in general botany."

The general conclusion is that "the elementary course in botany has become greatly restricted with respect to its function as a prerequisite for the sequent courses in the College of Agriculture and Forestry." "Most of these sequent courses are really new courses in botany, more specialized, adding large amounts of new material and supplementing the elementary among them."

From the viewpoint of the thoroughgoing methods used in the study and the significance of its findings the reviewer regards this as the best curricular study on the college level that has so far appeared. May their tribe increase.

J. O. CREAGER

The Physical Basis of Society, Second Edition, by CARL KELSEY. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1928, pages xxii+526.

One who knew all there is in this book would have the equivalent, as far as information is concerned, of about fifty per cent of a college education. It would be just the fifty per cent that any young person ought to possess before he started studying any of the social sciences in their advanced forms. If all beginners in economics or sociology had the preparation represented by the material of this book their teachers would not only be spared an immense amount of time-consuming effort, but would be able to expound their subjects in an immeasurably broader and more edifying way. No better idea of its contents can be given than by copying a single column of the index: Mercury, Mesozoic age, Metabolism, Metals, Meteorites, Mice, Microörganisms, Microscope, Migration, Milk, Millet, Mink, Mitosis, Moccasin snake, Molds, Mole, Molecules, Mollusks, Molybdenum, Mongolian idiot, Mongoose, Monkey, Moon, Morals, Morbidity, Moron, Mosquito, Moth, Mountains, Mulatto. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

The Alien in Our Midst, by MADISON GRANT and CHARLES STEWART DAVISON. New York: The Galton Publishing Company, Inc., 1930, 238 pages.

This volume consists of a rather loosely coördinated collection of viewpoints on immigration, its consequences and control. The editors and co-authors have sought expression not only from contemporary writers but also from the recorded opinions and attitudes of many of the nation's founders, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton.

The general theme of the assembled articles is about as follows: America no longer is able to offer opportunities furnished by nature, but only those resulting from human endeavor. The position of man as the short economic factor and nature as the long factor which characterized the nineteenth century is now reversed. Consequently there is a very real danger of actual displacement of American labor and its high standards by the cheap labor of southern and eastern Europe accustomed and adjusted to the lowest standards of human existence. The economic prosperity of a country cannot be divorced from sound morals, progressiveness, and political stability, all of which in our case are threatened by the alien undisciplined in democratic ways. Should a policy of unrestricted immigration again be followed as a result of a mistaken humanitarianism, it is pointed out that the struggle for existence of the newcomers would be mitigated, that of the natives would be intensified, while abroad the pressure of population, although temporarily relieved, would soon be as great as ever. The melting pot

is characterized as the greatest fallacy of the preceding generation. In Professor H. P. Fairchild's contribution it is stated that the incidence of restriction upon foreign nations should be governed by the specific incompatibility of their cultures respectively with ours. Dr. Dexter points out the nonassimilable qualities of the French-Canadians whose migration to New England has been stimulated by the application of the quota law to European peoples. Similarly other contributions point to the dangers of unregulated Mexican and Philippine immigration.

Politically the alien has long exercised an influence far beyond his numerical proportion. It is the opinion of D. Chauncey Brewer that blundering immigration and naturalization policies have placed the governmental machinery of the Union largely in the hands of an untrained and perhaps unfit electorate. E. R. Lewis and William Starr Meyers show the power which European prejudices and ideals exert upon the major political parties always apprehensive of the alien vote. This gloomy perspective is relieved somewhat by the assurance of H. H. Laughlin that the proportion of leadership by those bearing British blood is actually increasing as the proportion of British blood in the total population declines.

The chief criticisms which might be raised against *The Alien in Our Midst* are an apparent lack of coördination, frequent repetition resulting from so many statements based on the same subject matter, and the absence of any views presenting the other side to strict immigration restriction. EARL E. MUNTZ

The Modern Family, by RUTH REED. New York: Alfred A. KNOPF, 1929, 182 pages.

The author briefly surveys the history of marriage forms in order to discuss present experimentation with types of marriage in America. From this it will be seen that the book does not present data, except such statistical data as are needed to sharpen the significance of points made. The volume is rather an essay on saner attitudes we might take towards marriage. Noting the fleeting character of the sexual feeling on which marriage ordinarily rests, the author advocates social approval of the marriage forms now in experimental stages and not meeting general social standards. Her advocacy depends upon the growing evidence that monogamy is not suited to many and upon her own incisive objectivity in evaluating the factors in the marriage situaton. She gives especial importance to the economic factors so closely linked to family problems, and makes quite convincingly the point that the new forms meet the needs of women in the professions and of men training for the professions, all of whom have necessarily to delay marriage in the interests of career. Here is a viewpoint cogently expressed and inviting the rumination of the thoughtful. A. M. CONKLIN

Child Care and Training, by MARION L. FAEGRE and JOHN E. ANDERSON. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1929, 250 pages.

The way we are growing is perhaps indicated by a comparison of this new book for the parent with the old, reliable volume of Dr. Holt according to which many of our children were reared before the war. Dr. Holt dealt largely with the proper treatment of the child as a physical organism; the attention given to the child's social experiences was of minor importance. The present volume is more comprehensive in that the modern parent will find there all the necessary facts of physical growth and the norms with which to compare his child's development, plus what we know about mental growth and behavior. Considerably more weight is given to the child's social evolution than to any other aspect of his guidance and the book offers any enlightened parent the best of what is known about the psychology of childhood. To substitute this book for the earlier approaches to child training is to march with the times and to engage in the preventive program that has carved out for itself the goal of doing away with conduct disorders and all their unfortunate consequences. A challenging bibliography, put together by these experts in child welfare, is itself an optimistic indication of how far the scientist feels he can take the parent along with him in all that he is learning about children. The tone of relentless criticism of the parent is happily lacking in the presentation of this material. For that phase of parent education we appear to be substituting some confidence that parents will want to understand scientific child training and can, if the experts will educate as they go.

A. M. CONKLIN

So Youth May Know, by ROY E. DICKERSON. New York: Association Press, 1930, 242 pages.

The subtitle of the book explains the purpose in writing it: "New Viewpoints on Sex and Love." When we know further that the author is a director of the activities of young persons in the Order of the De Molay, it is patent that the book has a specific mission. It presents, in excellent fashion, the facts of physical sex and deals to some extent with the psychological concomitants of sex experience. The aim is clearly to give the reader wholesome, conservative attitudes towards sex and the problems it involves. Placed in the hands of the young boys joining the Order, the book will serve a highly useful purpose despite its narrow understanding of feminine psychology and its tendency to be too "preachy."

The author writes as if sex ideals in the present world were set and acceptable to the majority. His resort to logic in dealing with anything so surcharged with emotion as the sex drive is a familiar fal-

lacy. He writes of all the need for restraint, for instance, as if sex feeling were a voluntary matter and his idealism in consequence bears no reference to the changing world in which the young men of the De Molay Order will soon find themselves. He is brave who attempts at this time to plaster cast a set of fundamental ideals that are in a state of dynamic flow. The author does not do this; rather, he harks back to a safety that existed before the flow began. In the sense that his book ignores the transition period in which it has come to publication, its idealism will probably remain aloof from experience.

A. M. CONKLIN

Psycho-Analysis and Education, by BARBARA LOW. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928, 224 pages.

This book was published in England under the title, *The Unconscious in Action: Its Influence Upon Education*. It is more adapted to an English-reading public than to an American one. The great majority of American teachers do not have the background of psychoanalytical literature which would make the terminology easily understood. The book does, however, give one a better understanding of the two most important processes in psychoanalysis; viz., the unconscious, both mental and emotional, and sublimation. The writer points out the great value of these processes to education, but the explanations are too brief, and the examples cited too few, to make the book of practical assistance. The reader is at times puzzled to know just what the unconscious includes. There is danger in attaching a deeper meaning to what is in a child's (unconscious) mind, and of setting up a mechanism which defeats its own ends. In America mental hygiene is at present being carried on to accomplish what the writer believes should be done by the processes of psychoanalysis.

The book points out some important ideals in the newer methods of education to enrich the personality of the individual and prevent abnormalities, but adds nothing new, aside from the psychoanalytical viewpoints mentioned, to the recent educational and psychological literature along these lines. However, the writer has clearly stated and carried out her purpose as stated on page 9—"to show the bearing—a vitally important one, I think—of psychoanalysis on education."

C. E. BENSON

Adaptability to New Situations, by SAM R. LAYCOCK. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1929, 164 pages.

The title of this monograph will be recognized as a familiar definition of intelligence which the author has decided to put to the test. He reports a most interesting study founded on Spearman's principles of

cognition. Using some 2,630 eleven- and twelve-year old subjects and three tests which he carefully devised, the author reaches the conclusion that adaptability to new situations is not a definition of intelligence because never on any two occasions or with any two individuals are we measuring the same thing. The past experience of each individual causes his response to new situations to vary as the number of individuals concerned. The subjects tend to use associative reproduction in solving the problems rather than a genuine process of education, with the result that many fail of the solution. Success is positively correlated with intellect. In all the ranges of intellect, however, the extent to which transfer of training is lacking from one situation to another is astonishing.

The investigator has produced a careful piece of work described in delightful literary style. Quite rightly, he conceives one of the main purposes of education to be the supplying of useful, accurate method for adult problem solving. If his large group affords a picture of the thinking processes we have inculcated, education just falls short of being useful. High-grade defectives can get on by employing reproduction only; educative processes, which form the important next step, are employed only rarely by our most intelligent, a fact which throws a great deal of light on our difficulties with character education, with vocational guidance, and all our training for the use of leisure time. It will be some time before education ceases to be a process of hammering in facts and gives instead some attention to the methods of relating facts, but books like the present volume make invaluable contributions towards the setting of new educational goals. A. M. CONKLIN

Our Changing Human Nature, by SAMUEL SCHMALHAUSEN. New York: The Macauley Company, 1929, 510 pages.

The reviewer need waste very little time or space on a book written with such patent insincerity. One wishes that the author had just spoken these pages to his looking-glass. The part of the problem we cannot dismiss so lightly is the thirst of a reading public for this sort of half-baked innuendo. But a reviewer is scarcely responsible for remaking whole chunks of so-called civilization, is he?

A. M. CONKLIN

Negro Problems in Cities. A study made under the direction of T. J. Woofter, Jr. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928, xiv+285 pages.

At a time when it seems to be the fashion to depict Negro life in a halo of idealization and mysticism it is especially refreshing to chance upon such a straightforward and accurate description of the Negro's

actual life conditions as is contained in the study of Negro problems in cities made under the direction of T. J. Woofter, Jr. The objective of the study is to interpret the colored newcomer to the city in terms of certain new factors in his urban environment. Part I is the work of Mr. Woofter himself and deals in a broad way with the Negro neighborhood in the city. A detailed account of the factors underlying the Negro trek to the city is given with special emphasis upon the neighborhood problems engendered by his sudden arrival. Social pressure and the passage of laws by the whites, and in no lesser degree the economic and social cohesion of the Negro groups, have always contributed to make racial separation a matter of fact. The intrusion of Negroes enjoying a better economic status into white districts is attributed to their natural wish to seek better places for homes, rather than to a vain desire to live in white neighborhoods. Segregation strikes deeply into the social life of the group, developing neighborhood institutions and businesses. On the other hand, it paves the way for neglect and exploitation as is often indicated by the lack of neighborhood improvements in sewerage, lighting, paving, and deficient educational and recreational facilities.

Part II by Madge Headly gives a detailed account of housing surveys in the Negro districts of eighteen cities. In general the equipment of most rental homes is the minimum required to induce the tenant to enter, which need not be much in an expanding Negro district because of the low standards to which the migrants from Negro districts had been accustomed. Owing to the relatively low wages of Negro workmen, segregation, and the consequent overcrowding in Negro districts, rent consumes an unduly large proportion of the Negro family's budget. Rentals are invariably based upon the amount the tenant will stand irrespective of the kind of dwelling or the equipment furnished, and this regardless of whether the landlord is colored or white. In common with the whites the Negro takes great pride in home ownership, but the high valuations placed upon properties in the segregated districts and the difficulties of finance have prevented many from rising from the ranks of the tenants. Particular attention is given to various constructive agencies such as the Octavia Hill Association, the Cincinnati Model Homes Company, Neighborhood Associations, and model housing projects for Negroes.

The Negro school problem is treated in Part III by W. A. Daniel. It has always been the policy in southern cities to provide a separate school system for colored children; in the North expediency seems to have been the factor determining whether or not separate schools should be provided. Among the Negroes themselves, it appears, there would be but little opposition to segregation provided equal educational opportunities were afforded, although some maintain that this form of segregation will but hasten the adoption of other forms. Admitting that the "mixed" school or class may afford much in the way of cultural assimilation and racial amity, it may also be the means of encouraging greater

racial friction, especially if the attitude of the teachers is unfriendly. Many of the problems that appear as school problems amongst the recent arrivals in the North are in reality personal or family problems created in various ways by maladjustment. Thus frequent removals result in frequent transfers from school to school and subsequent retardation; inadequate family incomes, necessitating mothers working away from home, result in unfavorable home conditions, truancy, and the early employment of children. In the South school funds are inadequate and the Negro schools are but a secondary consideration in their distribution, consequently standards are far below par. Industrial education in the high schools for Negroes is shown to be merely a makeshift. The survey indicated the excessive overcrowding, the general lack of sanitation, and the poor equipment of most southern schools. Even the new buildings for colored pupils are sometimes equipped with old heating plants, desks, manual training, and cooking room equipment taken over from the white school that had received the new equipment.

The fourth part of the study, dealing with Negro recreation in the city, is the work of Henry J. McGuinn. The inadequacy of recreational facilities is closely aligned to juvenile delinquency in colored neighborhoods. The facilities of large parks in the northern cities are generally accessible to Negroes, except in the case of bathing beaches, where joint use has invariably produced friction. Many cities such as Indianapolis, Louisville, Memphis, and Atlanta have separate parks for Negroes, but in few instances have swimming pools been provided for them. Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Chicago, and other large centers officially hold that playgrounds and recreation centers are open to all the people of the neighborhood, but in practice it is common to find some form of separation. In general, playgrounds in Negro communities are less numerous, smaller, poorer in equipment, and less adequately supervised than those for white children in the same city. To a limited extent the inadequate facilities in public recreation are supplemented by private recreational and character-building organizations, such as Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, churches, clubs, and settlement houses, but these efforts, usually the efforts of the Negroes themselves, are on a small scale, unrelated, localized, and reach only a fraction of the colored population. In commercial recreation the city is seen at its worst, for here the Negro, settled in segregated areas, is neglected and exploited.

E. E. MUNTZ

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Enrollment in High Schools

More than fifty per cent of the students of high-school age in the United States are actually attending high schools.

These figures acquire an additional interest when compared with those of 10 years ago, when such attendance was but 30 per cent, and with those of 25 years ago, when it was only about 10 per cent.

These facts are pointed out by the United States Office of Education in a statement in which the remarkable growth of high-school attendance during recent years is traced.

The first public high school was organized in 1821, but this type of school enrolled only about 10 per cent of the children of high-school age until 1905 or 1906. Within the next 10 years another 10 per cent were enrolled, and when a century had passed—1921—the 30 per cent mark was reached.

Although no general census has been taken in this country since 1920, a careful estimate indicates that 40 per cent of the children of ages 15, 16, 17, and 18 were enrolled in public high schools about 1923, and 50 per cent in 1928.

The rapid growth which was experienced between 1915 and 1925 seems to have been followed by a period of growth that is decidedly slower; so much so, that it is difficult to forecast how soon an additional 10 per cent of the children of high-school age will be enrolled in public high schools.

In 1927-1928, there were 18,116 public high schools, white and colored, reporting, in response to a questionnaire, an enrollment of 4,217,313 pupils—2,028,722 boys and 2,188,591 girls.

Enrollment by subject in public high schools has been collected by the Office of Education at intervals since 1890. During that year, data were collected showing enrollments in nine subjects: Latin, Greek, French, German, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, and general history. The expansion of the high-school program enables high schools now to report enrollments in about 250 different subjects.

The average number of pupils per school enrolled in 18,116 public high schools in 1928 was 233. In junior high schools the average was 598; in junior-senior schools, 305; in senior schools, 770, and in regular high schools, 164 schools with an enrollment of fewer than 50 pupils comprised 30.4 per cent of the total number of schools reporting, and they enrolled less than 4 per cent of the pupils in public high schools.

In 1928, the public high schools graduated 474,736 pupils—210,916 boys and 263,820 girls.

In regular high schools, 30.2 per cent of the graduates went to college and 13.3 per cent to some other institution after graduation. In

reorganized high schools 31.2 per cent went to college and 10.3 per cent to some other institution after graduation.

In every group a higher percentage of boys than of girls went to college, and a higher percentage of girls than of boys went to some other institution, such as normal schools and commercial schools.

In the 18,116 public high schools reporting, 182,637 teachers are employed, or 1 teacher for each 23.1 pupils enrolled.

Bettering International Relations

International coöperation and understanding are gradually developing social phenomena. The number of international conferences held annually is one of the significant phases of this movement. The layman is somewhat surprised when he becomes acquainted with the number and the character of these international gatherings.

During the year 1929 the Federal Government of the United States accepted invitations and sent representatives to forty-nine world congresses of one kind or another. Up-to-date during the year 1930, thirty-six out of one hundred invitations have been accepted and representatives are being sent to attend world conferences. As far as the Government is concerned the movement occupies all the time of one division of the State department; namely, the division on International Conferences and Protocol.

When nations learn to know each other through association, communication, and common understanding, world peace will thus be hastened.

By January 1, 1931, Miss Caroline Bengtson of Chicago hopes to have ready for the publisher the results of five years of intensive study of teacher unionization. The material is based upon the publications of the American Federation of Teachers, Reports of the United States Office of Education, official data from organizations of teachers, and first-hand knowledge of school conditions in Chicago. The first teachers' union was chartered in Chicago in 1902 and the American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916. Extravagant claims of tangible and spiritual benefits are difficult to substantiate.

Professor M. Wesley Roper has been made head of the department of sociology and economics of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia to take the place of Professor T. B. Ross who has resigned to enter business.

Associate Professor L. A. Cook has been granted a year's leave of absence (1930-1931). Professor Cook will continue his graduate study at Ohio State University where he has received a teaching scholarship.

Professor Leslie D. Zeleny of the State Teachers College of St. Cloud, Minnesota, was on the summer-school staff at the University of Minnesota teaching Dr. Finney's classes in educational sociology.

Professor Joseph K. Hart of the department of philosophy in the University of Wisconsin has resigned his position to accept a similar one at Vanderbilt University.

Catherine Bower, principal of Junior High School 60, Manhattan, was recently promoted to the position of district superintendent, New York City, Board of Education.

Dr. Truman L. Kelly, professor of educational sociology since 1926, has accepted an appointment as professor of education in the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. Dr. Kelly is known as one of the most prominent scholars in the field of statistical and experimental study in education.

President A. O. Bowden of New Mexico State Teachers College gave a series of lectures in the summer school of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, State College, New Mexico, June 16-20. Later in the summer he was a member of the staff of the summer school of San Diego State College, giving a course in educational sociology.

Mr. Elmer K. Kilmer, who for the past several years has been head of the department of science of the Collegiate School, 241 West 77th Street, New York, New York, has resigned his position to accept an appointment as assistant professor of education in Bucknell University. For the past three years Mr. Kilmer has been engaged in graduate study in the School of Education, New York University.

Dr. A. Monroe Stowe of Randolph Macon College has offered courses in the summer school of Duke University on the problems of college education and on the philosophy of the democratic college education.

Professor Ross Finney of the department of educational sociology of the University of Maine, writes, "I am giving a new course entitled The Social Heritage of the Individual, and I am writing a new book on *Mutual Inter-dependence, Its Social and Educational Implications.* The readers of the JOURNAL will await Professor Finney's new book with great interest. Professor Finney taught during the past summer at the University of Idaho.

Dr. Henry Suzzallo, director of President Hoover's National Advisory Committee on Education, has terminated his services with this organization to assume the presidency of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Both Dr. Suzzallo and the Carnegie Foundation are to be congratulated upon this appointment.

Dr. E. George Payne, professor of educational sociology and assistant dean of the School of Education at New York University, gave a series of lectures before the summer session of the Teachers Colleges of both Greeley and Gunnison, Colorado.

Professor Frederick J. Simons of the State Normal School at Keene, New Hampshire, spent the past year in study and travel in England, Germany, and other continental countries.

Professor Clyde V. Moore of Cornell University offered courses at the summer session of Columbia University.

Dean Henry L. Smith of the School of Education of Indiana University is making his second trip to Europe featuring education with travel in a course on Comparative Education of Europe. Dean Smith believes that from an educational point of view travel and study may be very definitely and successfully coördinated so that the results to the student and teacher may be very much more valuable than the "hit and miss" bird's-eye view that so many get in visiting or traveling in Europe.

Professor Edwin E. Holden, head of the education department of Kansas State Agricultural College, was recently elected governor of the Eighth District Rotary International for the year 1930-1931.

Professor Frederic M. Thrasher, director of the Boys Club study work of the department of sociology of the School of Education, New York University, has spent the summer in Turkey and Russia as a representative of the Board of Directors of the American Friends of Turkey. This organization coöperates with the Turkish Government in promoting child welfare and is now carrying on a demonstration playground in the city of Angora.

Professor Caroll D. Clark is the recent new member of the staff of the department of sociology of the Connecticut Agricultural College, succeeding John F. Markey who resigned to become head of the department of sociology and economics at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

Miss Josephine B. Ludlow of the Blewett Intermediate School, St. Louis, Missouri, has spent the past summer in Europe. She visited England, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and France, with a major point of interest being the Passion Play.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Mr. H. G. Bousfield is chief of the readers' department in the Washington Square Library of New York University. Mr. Bousfield received his master's degree from New York University.

Professor John M. Brewer of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, received his bachelor's degree from the University of California, the master's and the doctorate from Harvard. For a number of years he was connected with the Los Angeles State Normal School now the Southern Branch of the University of California. Since 1920 he has been at Harvard University. He is also a director of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance at Harvard. His field of special interest has been vocational guidance. He is a member of numerous educational organizations and has been an author of numerous publications of vocational education.

Dr. William H. Kilpatrick is professor of the philosophy of education in Teachers College, Columbia University.

Mr. Henry M. Shulman is research director of the Sub-Commission on Causes of the New York State Crime Commission. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago and has pursued graduate studies in the department of psychology of Columbia University. He has been lecturer on criminology at Seth Low Junior College and is visiting assistant in psychology on the faculty of the Post-Graduate Hospital and Medical School. His research publications are: *A Study of Delinquency in Two Rural Areas; A Study of Delinquency in Kings County; Environmental Factors in Juvenile Delinquency; From Truancy to Crime, a Study of 251 Adolescents; Problem Boys and Brothers; Crime and the Community.*

Miss Mapheus Smith received her bachelor's degree from Southwestern Presbyterian University, her A.M. from Vanderbilt. She has had considerable experience as a teacher of history and is at present at Vanderbilt completing her work for the doctorate in sociology.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV NOVEMBER, 1930 No. 3

EDITORIAL

Considerable discussion has taken place relative to indoctrination in education and there has been a definite point of view held and expressed both by the American public and by the philosophers of education.

The American public has always feared indoctrination in the public schools. The two groups which have been concerned are the capitalists on the one hand and the laborers on the other. The capitalists have been concerned with the maintenance of the *status quo* in industry and in our social life and have therefore feared the development of attitudes favorable to labor. A noteworthy example of this fear was expressed following the war when the United States Chamber of Commerce opposed the use of the social-science leaflets prepared by the Bureau of Education, on the ground that they were favorable to labor, and objected specifically to the point of view that labor organizations had improved the status of labor in this country.

On the other hand the laborers themselves have opposed indoctrination on the ground that since we had a capitalistic system and our social organizations on the whole favored capital that any indoctrination would lead to the further entrenchment of capital and the development of

the capitalistic point of view. It is interesting that this attitude of the public has found expression in a philosophy of education opposed to indoctrination on the ground that the best development of the individual will take place when his native powers are stimulated and he is left free from attitudes which groups and others hold are important for social progress. The thought is that the individual should at least acquire these or any attitudes through his own initiative.

The result of the public's position and the definite philosophy held by educators has been the maintenance of a curriculum of subject matter which has excluded, for the most part, the consideration of political, social, economic, and religious problems. The educational sociologist takes a view slightly different from the public and philosophers with reference to the educational problem of indoctrination.

The educational sociologist insists that society is a telic process and that, whether we theoretically desire it or not, legislation, education, and social endeavors tend towards the development of definite attitudes in individuals on the problems arising in our social life.

If the child, so far as the school is concerned, is kept free from definitely fixed attitudes on the social problems, he will acquire just as fixed attitudes, ideals, sentiments, and influences operating upon him in the social life. Therefore, it becomes necessary for the educator to concern himself not only with social points of view but with the development of attitudes on these social questions in the school. Obviously it is not the function of the school to develop fixed attitudes that will maintain outworn traditions, but on the vital civic questions of the day the school can immensely strengthen its educational program by developing attitudes that will ensure definite social actions.

THE TEACHER: AN OLD TRADITION AND A NEW OBLIGATION

LUTHER SHEELEIGH CRESSMAN

An ever increasing fire of criticism has been directed at the American system of higher education. Much of this criticism has been aimed at the system, some at the students, and some at the faculty. All deserve it in varying degrees. The faculties have replied by criticizing the system, the students, and defending themselves. In addition to the stock defenses a curious line has been developed by the faculties which says in substance that college instructors are bad teachers; and it is unfortunate but true. Many have resorted to this defense mechanism to justify apparently unsatisfactory work rather than make any analysis of the situation and arrive at any constructive position.

It is probable that much of the dissatisfaction with college teaching today arises from a failure to understand the conflict that has arisen as a result of the survival of an earlier idea of the rôle of the teacher into a period when not only the subject matter but also the whole system and aim of education is different. If this is the case, then there should still be room for the old type of teacher and there will be a new type teaching a different set of subjects, while in some fields there will of necessity be overlapping.

Our idea of the nature of a teacher, the mythical conceptualized being who in large numbers made up the teaching profession, dates from antiquity. He was one who led the boy and in so doing led him to know what life expected of him. He was one who passed on to the young and interpreted for him the values of his group. In Roman times the pedagogue was often a slave but as often as not a more cultured person than his master. Down through the Middle Ages we find the church and feudal society making their contributions, and the art of teaching came to be associated with the cultured or gentlemanly classes. The arts and traditions that were pre-

served were sheltered and nourished in the church and in the great families. Scholarship was a matter of social position. The great teaching institution of these centuries was the church. The church traditions, customs, beliefs were the standards to which all had to be related. The universities were at first closely connected with the church. Two important things grew out of this—the tradition of a scholar and gentleman, and the necessity for teaching the accepted values of the group or at least not definitely attacking them.

There was at that time no science. Business administration, stock judging, and courses in clothing design were not taught. What was taught was the humanities, those things considered necessary for the gentle classes. Naturally the members of these classes were taught by representatives of their own group. This was true down to very recent times. Out of this we have the survival of the tradition of a scholar and gentleman, a tradition many people today are eager to preserve.

In sharp contrast with the education of the past, the higher learning today is mostly concerned with different subject matter in a different system, in a society with a democratic bent. The new demands cause a sharp conflict with the persistent old tradition.

Today professional life has expanded so enormously from the academic philosopher to the advertising agent of a real-estate company that one may respectably make a "career" in almost any field, at least in modern American society. Furthermore, to enter the older professions it was necessary, and still is in some places, to have both economic and social standing. This situation, of course, limited the candidates to those already nurtured in the old traditions and professional ethics. To enter most any line of business required no formal education and anyhow none was offered. Today with free universal education, as an aim at any rate, college degrees have almost lost their significance as a symbol of learning, but in the public mind

they have become a necessity for entering any line of business or profession. Because of our emphasis today on science, exact or assumed to be exact, it is always easy to secure appropriations for such things as schools of business and physical sciences where objective results may be shown. This amplification of the college curriculum has necessitated instructors in these departments. Naturally these men have been trained only in these special fields. Their work is in turn the training of more men to do the same kind of work. A college degree is considered by the public to be equally valuable regardless of the department in which the student has worked.

These men and women in our colleges who are professors of accounting, or dress design, or what not, may be excellent people who do distinguished work. They may, and do, turn out trained technicians like themselves and what the industry and profession demands, but they are in a class entirely aside from the old teacher in the humanities. Their work is different because it deals with different material under a different system and a socially unselected student body, relatively speaking. Their business is training technicians for the laboratory, the office, or the road; they are not critics of life and culture whose business it is to lead students to a gradually developing appreciation of the values of life as civilization shows it. Consequently, they should be judged by the new standards their work sets up and not by the old tradition of a scholar and gentleman. Many of the teachers today are superior men when measured by the standards of the newer education. These people do not help themselves by their failure to recognize the new standard which applies to their work. Instead they judge themselves by the old standards and accordingly say that college instructors are notoriously bad teachers.

Another factor affecting the quality of the teaching in our undergraduate schools is the requirement that the teachers should be Ph.D. men. Almost without exception the rigorous research training necessary for the doctorate disqualifies

many students from being successful teachers of the type of the old school. They are trained in specialized investigation leading to a type of teaching or presentation of information that finds little favor among undergraduates. They have worked in one field and closely allied fields and are unacquainted with material of a different kind. This specialization has so limited the field of the modern college instructor that he too must be judged by a new set of standards.

However, certain subjects like sociology and anthropology are in a middle-of-the-stream position. The instructor in these fields must be a trained research man, yet in his teaching he is constantly discussing social or cultural values. The already developed tradition of specialization and the desire "to be smart" leads many to a destructive criticism of social values which results in stranding many youngsters in a mental morass from which they never really escape. These are the really worthless teachers because they fail to recognize the wider obligations of their work. The good teacher here is one who not only rigorously applies the canons of scientific method to his subject matter but at the same time preserves somewhat the old tradition of a scholar and a gentleman and by his more mature judgment leads his students to an intelligent appreciation of the social values and institutions about which he teaches, and does this by a relentless, vigorous scientific method.

We are today, in the educational field, in a transitional stage where our standards largely derived from an old tradition are no longer fitted to the rapidly changing educational institution. The new system demands, in addition to the old type, a new type of teacher, a teacher who is an expert in training men and women to become technicians. We are damning them today as poor teachers because we are measuring their performance by a standard which is nonapplicable. The old tradition as a standard must be relegated to its proper place and a new performance test be used for the men in the new professions.

PLAY AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR FOREIGN CHILDREN

J. L. MERIAM

Some years ago a Japanese boy entered the University of Missouri. He had graduated from a secondary school in Japan but under American teachers. His credits were accepted and he entered as a freshman. Some of his friends soon discovered that this student was not understanding the lectures and assigned readings. The Japanese boy was brought to me with the request that he be assigned to two or three English courses in the high school under my direction. I promptly replied that such "English" classes were the poorest place for a foreigner to learn English. I placed the young man in the seventh grade in the University Elementary School, also under my direction. In that class the pupils were studying a variety of civic and industrial problems in place of the conventional school subjects. Much informal but spirited reading, observation, and discussion were carried on. The work appealed strongly to the Japanese student who coöperated actively with the American boys and girls. The English language was conquered, not by studying English but by engaging enthusiastically in an activity in which English was in constant use.

In many of our public schools, children of a foreign tongue are greatly in evidence. In rooms where the large majority are American children, the almost incessant prattle of pupils in the more informal activity school surrounds the foreign pupil with an environment quite conducive to ready learning of English. But in many schools where the majority or even the total enrollment is foreign, the language problem is usually extremely taxing.

The traditional readin', 'ritin', 'rithmetic, as a program for the elementary grades, is so generally regarded as *the* curriculum, that any peculiar social situation is quite disregarded. Our school teachers, supervisors, officials, find

it much easier to follow tradition than to study into new social problems and to insist that live issues govern the selection and formulation of *a* curriculum. Here is, I believe, the explanation for the practice in most schools with a large percentage of foreign children; viz., appropriating to these children the curriculum program arranged for American children. But in so doing a somewhat lower standard in quantity and in quality is acceptable. To achieve even the minimum, the pupils must be provided with motives, usually found in activities other than this one of acquiring a new language.

The whole problem seems to me to be essentially a social one. The traditional school, with its emphasis upon a static rather than a dynamic curriculum, is inadequate. These foreign-tongued pupils need a school occupation that is commensurate with real life. They need to be led into active participation in those human behaviors in which the English language largely functions. I have repeatedly claimed that, with six-year-old children, the best way to teach reading is not to teach reading, but to help those children to do vigorously those activities in which reading functions. Under such a normal motive the ability to read is the more readily and effectively developed. Just so in the case of acquiring command of a language foreign to one's own tongue. Help these children to do vigorously activities in which the English language plays a large part.

In a public school in Los Angeles, an experiment was carried on in the spring of 1929, in one room of grade I and in a second room of grades II and III. These pupils were largely Mexican and Japanese. Earlier in that school year, the principal, Mr. F. W. Orth, had occasionally led these pupils in playing games in their rooms and during the school time as a part of the school program. In the conventional school work, these pupils were quiet in accordance with school custom; they were little expressive, as the work called for comparatively little expression. In short

these children were conspicuously nonsocial in their behavior. There was indeed too little action to provide for real development. The occasional play and a more frequent hour devoted to handwork, making toys and a variety of semi-useful objects, indicated a responsiveness in these pupils when occasion was provided for such actions.

Beginning on the first of May each of these two schools devoted one period of from thirty to fifty minutes daily to playing games. This continued for six weeks. The primary objective was to develop in these pupils a real social responsiveness. More physical movement and more oral expression, even spirited conversations, were wanted. This would mean social development. The pupils themselves saw in these games real fun—and then more fun.

Three games were the ones most frequently played; each with variations from time to time.

1. *Bean bags.* Usually pitched into one circle, or two or three concentric circles drawn upon the floor.
2. *Tenpins.* Small wood pins were used, but sponge (rubber) balls replaced the noisy and less effective wood balls usually used. A particular variation consisted of using roly-polies in place of the tenpins. These images caricaturing human beings, as policemen, doctors, nurses, children, etc., tumbled about when struck by a rubber ball. This fun in the game readily led these pupils into oral exclamations and into spirited conversation. And the game, in turn, became more and more spirited.
3. *Cylinder relay.* A simple little game in which two teams vie with each other in strenuous coöperation.

While playing these games, the school seats—not secured to the floor—were pushed together at one side of the room, to allow space for full play. This change from the formal schoolroom seating order contributed to social improvement. Standing about in groups, or seated most informally upon the floor or in readily movable chairs, freed the pupils

from constraint and invited them to natural conversation. Both principal and teachers early remarked upon the social advancement of these pupils during these play periods.

To make accurate measurement of the language and other social achievements of these pupils is a problem yet to be solved. Let the judgments of teachers suffice for the present.

However, while waiting for the new measure suggested and while facing the current demand for standard achievement in the conventional subjects, we may find large justification for the play activities, especially for children of foreign tongue, if we could discover that *in* the social activity of play, these Mexican and Japanese children make conspicuous advancement in the conventional subjects.

On the first of May, when these game activities were started, all the pupils of these two schools were given the "Los Angeles Diagnostic Tests: Fundamentals of Arithmetic, Form 1." During the six weeks of the experiment the two teachers omitted entirely the regularly scheduled number work. But in these games, especially the first two listed, considerable number work was involved in keeping the scores of the games. At the close of the six weeks, the pupils were again given the same tests which they had at the start.

Representative results are as follows:

GRADE 1

Addition

First Test		*Second Test*	
Number of papers	25	Number of papers	23
High score	23	High score	57
Low score	3	Low score	4
Median score	20.7	Median score	39.3

Subtraction

First Test		*Second Test*	
Number of papers	24	Number of papers	23
High score	13	High score	28
Low score	0	Low score	0
Median score	10.2	Median score	24.6

These data are suggestive and will probably be supported by further findings. The game activities as such are positively socializing. Evidence in oral and written language as well as increasing participation in such games is to be reported later, when further developments are made. It is to be noted here that, in the meantime, the traditional demand for advancement in ability to handle simple numbers is met. It is questionable if our formal three-R subjects adequately socialize and Americanize our children of foreign tongue. It is probable that direct participation in the activities of American children will be more effective.

APPRECIATION AS A TEST OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

HAROLD SAXE TUTTLE

Many attempts have been made to answer the question, "What are the criteria of progress?" But for every attempt there have promptly appeared many refutations. It would almost appear that the more naïvely we take progress for granted the less is our confidence likely to be disturbed; while the more carefully we analyze the nature and criteria of progress the less assurance we shall have that either can be determined. If one were to judge by the literature which has appeared on this subject he would be persuaded that we really cannot know what progress is, nor whether there has certainly been any progress at all in the history of mankind.

The difficulty in determining criteria of progress apparently grows out of the rigidness of the criteria proposed. Is the civilization of one nation better than that of another? Many tests have been suggested. Answers have been attempted, for example, in terms of tangible wealth, of means of communication, of erudition. To every such proposal, it is very easy to reply that the jury is prejudiced. The citizens of the wealthy nation very naturally feel certain that wealth is an indication of progress; but the citizens of the nation living close to the poverty line, discovering many offensive elements in the rival civilization, insist that the price of wealth is far greater than the compensation. Every attempt to set up such a fixed criterion results in similar disagreements, at least by representatives of opposite extremes in its attainment.

A scientific approach to the study of many of the proposed criteria reveals their weaknesses not merely on the ground that they are dependent on the prejudices of those who have been trained under contrasted conditions. Rather,

the flaws are implicit in the very arguments of their supporters.

The advocate of wealth (under whatever variant form it may be proposed) proves that wealth indicates progress by showing that the percentage of dependents is greatly diminished; that moderate luxuries are enjoyed by the masses; that even the suffering of the few who are dependent is greatly ameliorated. In each of these arguments, as in the whole extensive catalogue of similar contentions, the proof lies not in the criterion named, but in the larger enjoyment of life, the wider range of satisfaction.

Happiness, under one definition or another, is assumed as the ultimate evidence of the value of wealth. Such an argument is nothing short of a confession that not the fact of wealth but the emotional satisfaction which it makes possible is the true criterion of progress. And what is true of wealth is true of every other material test proposed.

Practically every thinker who has advocated such material criteria has acknowledged explicitly or implicitly that their defense rests back upon the spiritual uses to which they are put. Not mere wealth, as such, indicates progress, but wealth *because* in human experience it has been possible to diminish pain, ameliorate suffering, and extend emotional satisfaction to the masses. In so far as it fails in these services or becomes an agent of exclusiveness or selfishness or envy it ceases to indicate progress, representing instead actual retrogression.

So commonly accepted a standard as health will perhaps even better reveal the difficulty of setting up a fixed criterion. When causes of disease are discovered and means of their eradication perfected; when the percentage of sickness and misery is diminished; when the interference of accident and sickness with economic efficiency is reduced; when the degree of physical vitality is increased and the span of life is lengthened, there is little opportunity for debate as to the fact of progress. But the proof lies not in the fact

of health as such. The force of the arguments, rather, depends upon the rich satisfaction in life which bounding health makes possible; the greater happiness which economic efficiency encourages and the decrease of pain (both physical and mental) by virtue of the reduction of sickness and death; so that the test of progress in this undebated field is not made to depend on health as a final value but is candidly shifted to the realm of emotional satisfaction.

If means of communication and transportation are set up as tests they must be defended not in terms of their intrinsic worth, but against the charge that crime and vice are encouraged and made more invulnerable by these very agencies; that the stability of community life is diminished, that the cost of living is raised, and that standards of enjoyment are lowered through commercialized recreation. If, in the face of these criticisms, the case for communication is still maintained it will be on the ground that satisfactions far outweighing these losses are made possible in wider friendships, varied scenes, higher class entertainment for the masses, and a score of other forms of enjoyment. The test as before will be carried over to the emotional aspect of life.

Political progress may be judged on the basis of popular rights. Democracy may be set up as proof of progress in contrast with varying degrees of despotism. But is democracy better than despotism because it is democracy or because it yields wider and larger satisfactions to the members of society?

Even with respect to learning, can it be said that the increase of knowledge is a proof of progress or merely a potential agency of progress? If the latter is conceded it is again on the ground of the enrichment of man's emotional life.

When every defense of every criterion comes back to the one single argument that it adds to human happiness, one can hardly escape inquiring whether we have not after all

returned to the old philosophy of hedonism. If we have, we shall either be forced out of that position by the cumulative arguments of centuries against pleasure as a goal, or we shall be obliged to discover in happiness some new factors which effectively remove the force of former refutations.

Before attempting to meet that issue let us discover whether we have merely fallen back upon the hedonic test by a process of elimination and accepted it as a last resort, or whether there are constructive grounds for believing that the test of progress is really to be found in the realm of the feelings rather than in the realm of things.

The first inquiry may well be, "Who is in a position to determine whether one state of society is better than another?" The answer may depend upon one's theology. If one holds that there is a destiny of man over which he has no control and which is altogether independent of his nature, but which is revealed to him by superhuman means of communication, then the test of progress will be held as arbitrarily determined by that revelation. If, however, one holds that the destiny of man lies in his inherited potentialities, no matter what may be the source of those latent capacities, then the test of progress can be found in that nature. In the light of our knowledge of psychology, the latter position alone is tenable.

The issue is not religious, but at most theological. For at heart, there is no less religion in a constitution which favors progress under intelligent effort, than in a universe which provides it without effort.

Dealing, then, with human society as it may be observed, there is but one possible answer as to the test of progress: What the human race most wants becomes the final criterion.

If this is interpreted to mean that what every individual at any particular moment feels as the strongest impulse is what the race most wants, then the argument would be altogether ridiculous. What the human race most wants is not a mat-

ter of the momentary impulses of any individual or of any number of individuals; it is not even what all individuals most want; not even what they want in their best moments; it is not even what the accepted leaders of the human race, the pioneers of thinking, believe that the race most wants. It is, rather, the sort of life which most thoroughly, permanently, and consistently satisfies the human race, once it is tried. The discontent of a people when they have most completely secured their demands is as important a test of human wants as is their articulate desire. The conscious wants of the race become significant as tests only when all possible tastes have been canvased and a selection is made among all possible alternatives. In spite of all the difficulty of determining what the human race wants there is, nevertheless, no other possible criterion of human progress. The psychology of the feelings opens the way to an understanding of maximal happiness. The history of the human race must be drawn upon to determine what way of living has proved to yield that highest satisfaction. It is, indeed, on the basis of this test of history that every argument in support of any material criterion is offered. The student of society who maintains that material prosperity is a goal whose attainment represents progress bases his conviction upon the evidence that material prosperity has actually brought more happiness than was possible in its absence. Similarly the support of all objective criteria has been rooted back in the experience of the race. Since, therefore, the implications of every argument have rested back upon emotional satisfaction, not as a theological hope but as a racial experience, the logical conclusions are that the test of social progress will be found after all not in the objective conditions themselves, but in the subjective reactions to them.

The criteria of progress may be summed up as the development to their maximum degree of human capacities for satisfaction. This is no denial of the possible value of all

those materials which have been claimed as evidences of progress. It is rather an approach from the point of view of appreciations leaving the materials which serve as stimuli as minor conditions, in place of the approach from the point of view of objective values, leaving human appreciations as a vague ill-defined, although inescapable, conditioning element.

This shift of emphasis simplifies the entire analysis. If objective means need to be classified, well and good; and the service of the sociologist in such a classification is a valuable contribution; but the soundness of the theory does not depend upon such a classification, nor will analysis and reclassification fundamentally affect the test proposed. Indeed, by approaching the problem through its emotional aspects, a classification of the environment is suggested in terms of human appreciations. Nor does the formulation of a list of types of appreciation prevent a re-analysis or the recognition of additional types.

By way of illustration, rather than exhaustive analysis, six somewhat different aspects of subjective satisfactions may be listed.

1. Appreciation of physical health is a safe criterion of human progress. This affirmation represents a very different standard from the statement that health constitutes such a criterion. The latter would emphasize the development of corrective and preventive medicine. The criterion as here set up is rather a test of the fruits of such a movement. At the same time it becomes a motive not primarily for such agencies but for such a supplemental program of education as will lead to the fullest use of lengthened life and improved health. It holds up the necessity of wholesome mental attitudes as a part of the health objective and it demands the integration of every health program with all other phases of appreciation so that health shall add to the total enjoyment of life rather than be looked upon as an isolated object of desire. It still leaves a place for the

patience of the invalid and even for deliberate sacrifices of health in the interest of some more worthy cause.

2. Aesthetic appreciation as a test of progress is freer from criticisms than the mere accumulation of works of art, for neither the number of buildings nor paintings nor operas nor even their quality gives assurance of social progress. Only the extent to which these are known and enjoyed by the masses represents assured social attainment.

3. Not the increase of means of communication and transportation, but the increase of human fellowship is a satisfactory test of progress. The mere building of railroads, the mere multiplication of automobiles, the stretching of telephone wires, the perfecting of a postal system, the increase of radio communication; these do not assure social betterment. Only when these agencies are employed to enrich the group life, to develop a community consciousness, to conserve mental health do they give assurance of human progress.

4. Knowledge, too, must have some bearing upon the satisfactions of mental curiosity, the expanding of intellectual interests, the enrichment of the imaginative life or practical application to the world's work in order to spell progress. Erudition is not culture; encyclopedic information is not richness of life. The worth of knowledge is tested by the satisfactions which it makes possible. Pedantry prevents progress. Formalism stifles joy. The criterion of progress in the intellectual field is the emotional product of learning, direct or indirect.

5. If democracy is to be identified with progress it will be because freedom is increased, not because kings have been dethroned. Wherein democracy increases exploitation and graft, wherein it divides communities and fosters antagonism, wherein it stultifies able leaders and degrades the ideals of ambitious youth, it spells retrogression, not progress.

6. Finally, not philanthropic movements or the amount of

public benefactions, but the extent of culture, the desire for refinement, the practice of altruism gives life satisfaction and tests human advancement. Moral character may be thought of as the mere observance of traditional customs. With this definition it may be a barrier to human happiness and progress. Only when there is actually present the motive of securing the good of others, which lies at the heart of moral conduct, will morality rise above custom and be readjusted to changing social conditions.

These six phases of human satisfaction are grounded so deeply in human nature as to test any type of environment and any way of living. And they offer to the social engineer, not some theoretical standard which may satisfy his curiosity, but a goal of progress which may determine his policies. If Wells was right that the destiny of civilization depends upon the success of education, then this criterion of progress offers to educators a standard by which to test every objective and, also, in its very nature, a standard by which to test method. It means nothing less than that the whole emphasis of education must be shifted from the transmission of isolated facts over to a process of cultivating attitudes. To be sure, the process will be carried out through media of such facts as are needed to interpret those attitudes and to clarify the values involved; but the emphasis will be on the values instilled.

This is not emotionalism; this is not a discrediting of knowledge; it is merely a recognition that the feelings are present in all normal living, and that knowledge is but one aspect of such living. It takes knowledge out of the realm of the formal and puts it into the realm of the vital; it makes knowledge functional; it shifts the emphasis in the consciousness of the child from facts to values.

With such an ideal nothing need be lost that has thus far been gained in the program of education. Health education becomes a program of training in appreciation of health and thus a motivation of all available knowledge

related to that value. Education in the fine arts becomes not a luxury but an integrating force in social life by means of which groups are brought to share a common emotion, than which no method is more effective in building up social solidarity. It furnishes an avenue for pleasurable social contacts removing causes for friction which are so common when only an intellectual basis exists.

The whole program of education in the tool subjects becomes a training in communication for social enjoyment instead of a purely utilitarian process. It takes its place as the foundation for group consciousness and group coöperation. Under this standard, knowledge becomes a means rather than an end and the progress of education is tested by the thrills of discovery, the enjoyment of expanded interests, and the appreciation of enlarged means of human fellowship. Specific technical training is forced to meet the test of increased freedom and a deeper sense of social responsibility. Forms of government can no longer remain sacred. They must retain their place in the approval of society in terms of their social benefaction. Under this test, finally, the altruistic impulses of youth will be cultivated to the maximum degree and every cruder motive will be sublimated into a dynamic for social living.

If the feelings seem to be so effervescent and variable as to make this criterion obviously unstable it must be recognized that feelings in an isolated psychological definition are quite different from feelings educated through long training in adjustment to fairly stable aspects of the environment. If the proposed criterion is challenged on the ground that such a standard is no fixed standard and therefore offers no definite basis for contrast and the indication of progress, it must be remembered that at any particular moment in history or in any particular group of human beings the feelings are associated with certain definite factors of wealth and knowledge and intellectual life and sociological organization; and that it is quite as feasible to test

the extent and quality of appreciation of these various aspects of the environment as it is to judge the bearing of their quality on progress. If the criticism is made that the educator has no practical means of applying the standard to the developing child the reply again must be that the developing child is living in a fairly stable environment and that his mental attitudes will be cultivated in terms of certain outstanding conditions which are exceedingly definite to him, that art will be cultivated through the media of very definite materials—specific paintings, specific works of architecture and of sculpture, specific musical compositions. Similarly, each of the other attitudes and appreciations will be analyzed through the channel of existing objective realities. So that there will be no difficulty in holding true to the test whether in training a child or in analyzing history.

We return then to our first difficulty (page 136) as our chief challenge. The most serious apparent objection to setting up emotional appreciations as the test of progress is the seeming selfishness of the aim. Has not happiness been identified with selfishness for many centuries? Are we now to yield the whole case and come back to a test which is at the very bottom of the scale of accepted goals of life? If deductive logic in philosophical vocabulary were our only recourse the challenge would be baffling. Modern psychology, however, has compelled a re-definition of happiness and an even more fundamental revision of the definition of selfishness.

Happiness in the light of our knowledge of human feelings is no longer the name of a mere state but of a reaction towards the environment. Its range is no less than the total possible range of interest and desire. The test of happiness does not lie as the pietist has so often maintained in the conflict between self and others. That distinction is external. Happiness is subjective; it is a state of

consciousness indicating adjustment. The higher the adjustment, the more exalted the happiness.

The feelings are primary, they are the dynamic basis of all readjustments. In other words, they constitute all impulses to action. Because of the confusion associated with the word happiness, it is better to substitute the more precise word "satisfaction." Psychologically, satisfaction is the only basis of human behavior. The question at any moment is not, will this act bring satisfaction? For no act will be performed whose contemplation offers more annoyance than satisfaction. The question is rather, "Which alternative will bring the *higher* satisfaction?" If the act which most enriches the lives of others can be made to yield a higher satisfaction than the act which robs them of enjoyment then conduct will become altruistic and not selfish. Selfishness, therefore, must be defined not primarily in subjective terms, but in objective. The test of selfishness lies in the choice of personal satisfactions at the expense of the good of others. Selfish motives are impossible until one has developed to a point where he can become conscious of society's values and chooses between these and his own immediate impulses.

So long as happiness and selfishness were identified, happiness remained an impossible ideal for human conduct; for it meant the conflict of individual interests; and human society cannot exist when conduct is so motivated. But when satisfaction is recognized as a degree of adjustment of an individual to his environment, there is offered to society the possibility of cultivating the highest satisfactions in connection with the highest social adjustment. If this prove possible, then emotional appreciation becomes both a possible and feasible criterion of progress. And it has proved possible. Indeed, no contribution of social psychology is better established than that social approval is a stronger motivation than egoistic impulses. If social approval is associated consistently with altruistic conduct

such conduct not only can be readily established in the growing youth, but it becomes an effective competitor of egocentric impulses. In the study of the individual, in the observance of groups, in the analysis of history, it has come to be clearly seen that the more broadly social the act, the higher the satisfaction.

These revelations of social psychology remove much of the challenge to the value-criterion of progress. They make it clear that the test here proposed is not the whim of every individual at a given moment regardless of his previous training but rather the satisfyingness of certain adjustments to the social environment which have been discovered to be effective in the human race. If emotional appreciation be accepted as the test of social progress then every child must be trained through a successive program of enlarging social adjustments under conditions which provide the full satisfaction of those normal social rewards which follow ideal adjustments. Equally necessary is it that the environment shall contain the range of stimuli which will tend to set up social adjustments that offer maximal satisfaction.

The logic of this theory is not that happiness is an independent objective quality wholly within the control of the individual irrespective of the environment; the inference is not that one may be just as happy when starving and cold and lonely as when well fed and comfortable among congenial companions. Such an inference would wholly neglect the fact that happiness is a measure of adjustment. The wider the variety of social adjustments possible, the richer the possible satisfactions of life. It is, therefore, necessary that there shall be a reasonable mastery of nature, a certain accumulation and distribution of material wealth, some considerable opportunity for communication and migration and environment favorable to the fullest physical health, a certain development of intellectual life, some accumulation of works of art and recognition of the

intellectual attainments of the past. All of these are elements in the environment which stimulate rich reactions and adjustments. The point of emphasis, however, is that human progress must be tested not by these objective attainments but by the adjustments of human beings to these aspects of the environment. And the distinction is significant particularly to the educator who holds in his hand the destiny of the future civilization. For a generation which has grown up in the appreciation of its environment, present and potential, will determine the social emphasis of the future. Shall materials occupy the chief place in the thought of the future generations? Or shall the service of materials to the highest potential satisfactions of the race occupy the first attention? The answer is in the hands of the educator. And the program of the educator will depend largely upon his own conviction regarding the criteria of progress.

URBANIZING THE SCHOOL

NELS ANDERSON

After we have said all we can for the little red schoolhouse we must admit that it is passing, just as the rural civilization of which it was a part is going out. It was an institution of a homogeneous society and the outgrowth of a more or less rural democracy. The institution that is taking its place is the outgrowth of a form of democracy that is essentially urban. Perhaps we should say that the new public school follows in the wake of industrialism. It is the creature of the cosmopolitan city. But the evolution that marks the growth of the public school is only part of a larger evolution which is beginning to be known as urbanization.

This term, "urbanization," is beginning to get popular usage which means, if nothing else, that more general attention is being focused on the city as a process and as a center of influence. Urbanization is cultural change spreading from the social and economic urban center towards the hinterland. It involves a contact between city and country in which the impact of the city tends to disturb the social organization and cultural patterns found in the country. The city has always played this rôle of imposing its ways upon the hinterland but never was the process so intense as now.

The city man invents and creates, and the more he does it the more removed he is from the country man. The difference between the two has been called a difference in time, more than a difference in space. The city man is more stimulated and moves from one experience to another at a more rapid rate. Necessarily, the economic interdependence of city and country demands that the two be adapted. The country, then, does most of its adapting to changes forced by the more dynamic city. In the material traits of cul-

ture the country adapts with little opposition, changing tools for machines, homespun garments for hand-me-downs from the factory, the candle for the electric light, and the buggy for the automobile. The country accepts, though not so readily, the modes and fads as well as the slang of the city. Gradually the country folk cut their clothes and hair after the manner of urbanites. In the purely nonmaterial traits—those that relate to the family, nationality, race, and religion—the city is ever being challenged. Recently that came out dramatically when an urban man who was a Catholic and the son of a foreigner tried to be president. Change in the nonmaterial traits are accepted very slowly, if at all.

In the evolution of culture the school holds a place which is nothing short of unique. In this spread of culture countryward, whatever be the merit of urbanization, the school plays a most important rôle. In the urbanization process it is perhaps one of the most responsive of what Hertzler calls the formative institutions. The advertiser doubtless plays a more important educational rôle but the school is left with the trying task of adjusting cultural change to the traditional culture patterns. Following in the wake of social and economic change in the urban center, the school interprets to the country the disturbing influences of the great city. In the urbanization of society, because in its formative functions it is so intimately involved, the school itself becomes urbanized. This process of making the school over, like the process of making our culture patterns over, begins in the city and extends countryward.

This radical evolution of the school dates back less than a century while its most intensive period would fall within the last fifty years, the period of most rapid city building. A century past, education in our larger eastern cities was mostly private. There were many schools but they were for the various social groups, religious groups, or national and racial groups. In New York, free schools existed but

they were principally for slaves and paupers. It was not until the 40's of last century that the population became so heterogeneous as to require a common and public school. Then the public institution was not born without conflict; but the point is that when it was born, the ward school in New York was the creature of urban heterogeneity. Point by point as it was added upon the additions were of urban initiative. Let us enumerate some of these additions to public education.

1. The urban public school had to adapt itself to take in all races, all classes, and all creeds. In New York, to give one example, the earlier schools were mostly Protestant and white. Negroes went to separate free schools while Catholic children, if they were not attending schools of their faith, were running the streets.

2. Compulsory education laws were initiated largely by the urban industrial centers. In many instances they were promoted by organized labor who demanded that the children of the poor should have the same cultural advantages as those of the upper classes. This demand was for the cultural and tool subjects and existed long before the school was expected to take the burden of teaching vocational subjects.

3. With the growth of cities and the breakdown of the domestic economy of the homestead there developed a demand for practical education. It began with a demand for teaching the practical subjects and was followed by a demand for teaching skills in these subjects. In meeting this demand the urban school is developing numerous technical and vocational departments and institutions.

4. The city has taken the initiative in extending the compulsory school age upwards, even to 18 years in some States. The extension process in the city also reaches down to the earlier years. The school year has been lengthened until in some States the city child must attend at least two months more than the country child. We must not

forget that the city started the night school and some would go a step further and credit the city with starting the adult education movement in this country. As these additions and changes spread countryward they are not always readily accepted; indeed, they are not always advantageous to the country.

5. The city school has had to face the leisure-time problem. The country child, with work and chores, presents little or no recreational problem for the school. Not only has the urban school taken up the burden of recreation for its pupils but in some cities it provides recreation for mothers and preschool children. The city school is beginning to see in recreation a therapeutic agent for problem children.

6. The same philosophy of education that recognizes recreational responsibilities also recognizes health responsibilities. Health is a form of public property. That is becoming clear to educators in the great city, though the idea has still not penetrated the hinterland that the public school is an important agency for safeguarding the health resources of the community. Perhaps we should add that even the city school is only beginning to recognize this. The cities are few indeed that provide clinical facilities for the mental and physical health of the school children.

7. It is the urban teacher who is converting the old schoolmaster job into a profession with a dignity comparable to other professions. Look where we will, nowhere in the hinterland do we find the initiative being taken for teacher pensions, salary security, tenure of position, or efforts on the part of teachers to elevate and promote high standards in the profession. There are individual exceptions, of course, but none comparable to the urban teacher organizations, sometimes the teacher unions. Even in the city teacher associations may be blocked and penalized but the fact remains that it is through urban teachers that the

public school becomes more integrated and the teacher groups more articulate.

8. Only a casual review of texts and other books dealing with school administration reveals the degree to which schools are taking over the efficiency methods of business. School administration is studied in the same objective terms that we find in the operation of a modern hotel, a department store, or an industry. In this tendency the city school takes the lead. Indeed, one finds the city school being rated in terms of budget efficiency more than in terms of social efficiency. The requisites of economy put such emphasis on income and expenditures that the less tangible values are not infrequently neglected. This, too, is urban.

9. The rising prestige of the city school, while it is an institutional prestige, is nevertheless becoming a powerful factor in urban social control. It touches the life of the child and even the home of the child with an authoritative hand. The State gives the school certain rights over the child to which the home must submit. The early public school, especially in the country, even though it held the same authority, was actually slow to use it. It was tolerated by the home. The school that is emerging stands alone and even seems to be reversing the position by tolerating the home.

These evidences, and others that might be listed, of the city's influence upon the school are not presented as marks of progress or the reverse. We cannot detain ourselves with examining these changes with some scale of progress. That is another problem. It is probably enough in passing to note that if an objective test of progress is a more complete adjustment of the school to its total problem and its total environment, then the process of urbanizing the school falls short of being progress on a number of counts.

1. The urban school tends to become huge and mechanized. As it grows it also becomes impersonal and institutional, hence heir to all the shortcomings of an institution.

2. The more unwieldy and mechanized the urban school becomes due to its increasing size the less susceptible it is to change. At the point of contact with the child, instead of becoming sensitive and responsive, it often tends to become cold and callous. As a protest against this there tends to grow up alongside the urban public school a variety of private or "progressive" schools.

3. Often teacher security in the city guaranteed by law leads to teacher lethargy and inefficiency.

4. The operation of the city school involves a great deal of money. As a result the system often becomes a pawn in politics. We need no better example than the schools of Chicago under Mayor Thompson or the present textbook scandals in New York.

5. The larger and more complex the school system becomes the more it needs be the problem of expert management. This is not always the case. School policy and program are after all determined by laymen and it is not always possible to get competent members on the boards of education in cities. This is true in the country as well.

We might continue pointing out the sore spots in the urban-school system but that would be quite beside the point of this article. We are examining an institution that is evolving in the city and spreading to the hinterland. Its faults are probably less inherent than recurrent, but whichever they are the faults will spread with the institution. Actually the flaws tend to vanish with the perfection of the institution. However, new ones may come to take their place, but that is true of all social institutions.

In the evolution of the public school the process of urbanization is only getting under way. Even at this early stage one does not need to be a prophet to predict probable future changes. Adjusting as it has been to the demands of the total environment it is rapidly coming to mean many things to many men because it is doing so many different things. We note, for instance, that the urban school has

taken over many activities that the home has abandoned. The observation that the losses of the city home have become the gains of the city school has become a commonplace.

One of the interesting problems of school change is the downward trend of the school age. How far will it go? Will the school take over the nursery? Not a few competent authorities feel that it will, especially for the apartment-dwelling families of the city.

The city school is beginning to recognize the need of the visiting teacher. This is definitely a revolution in education. For the visiting teacher is really a social worker. Her function is that of bringing the school to the home and of adjusting one to the other. The teacher educates, the visiting teacher reëducates and rehabilitates where the child or the family has come to the end of its resources.

As the responsibilities of the urban school increase, as its prestige becomes greater, its authority must necessarily increase. If it continues to become the haven of experts in education and reëducation it will gradually acquire the power, and confidence commensurate with such power, for carrying out its functions. It is not unlikely or even inconsistent that it may ultimately inherit some of the powers of the juvenile court.

Whatever the changing school may become it is at present the creature of a changing city and as the spread of urban influence reaches countryward the school follows along, fitting somewhere in the area-of-culture lag between the city and the country.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE COURSES IN ECONOMICS

H. G. SHIELDS[1]

PART I

A consideration of the problem of school and college courses in economics involves an analysis of what work is being offered in economics and the matter of what should be offered in the field. Hence, this paper is divided into two segments: (1) a brief statement of the status of elementary economics in colleges, universities, and secondary schools; and (2) comment on instruction in and organization of such courses.

During the last decade there has been an increased emphasis in universities and colleges upon instruction in elementary economics and allied subjects. A recent investigation[2] indicated that the total offerings in this field increased 361 per cent since 1910. The rapid increase in courses in elementary economics has not been accompanied by equal change in type of subject matter or instruction. Courses have multiplied and with the increased demand for instructors and instructional materials, a corresponding increase in teaching effectiveness is doubtful.

At least two excellent statements are available concerning the status of economics and allied subjects in the colleges and universities.[3] It is the purpose of this paper not to repeat what is contained in these statements, but rather to analyze in some detail the most common offering in this field, the course in elementary economics. From an examination of catalogue statements and Mr. Marshall's study, it is evident

[1] It was originally planned to place this article and those of Mr. Ward, Professor Brinkmann, and Dr. Burgess which follow it in the September issue. For lack of space this was not possible and they are now included in this number.

[2] L. C. Marshall, "Offerings in Economics," *Journal of Political Economy*, XIX, October 1927, pp. 760-789.

[3] *Journal of Political Economy*, XIX, October 1927, pp. 760-789 and *The American Economic Review*, December 1928, pp. 629-642.

that the course in elementary economics is typically a sophomore course, meeting three hours a week for a school year.

Catalogue statements and analyses of offerings, however, do not give a full picture of the elementary economics course of collegiate grade. A partial view may be obtained by a statement of the type of texts used. On all levels of education, the text determines to a varying degree the actual content of the course, more especially in those institutions in which library facilities are limited. The writer sent a postcard questionnaire to one hundred liberal arts colleges and universities, in order to get a sample of the texts in use in the elementary course. Replies were received from forty schools. The texts used were:

TABLE I[4]

	Schools	Per Cent
Fairchild, Furness, Buck, *Elementary Economics*...	11	27
Ely, *Outlines of Economics*.....	7	27
Taussig, *Principles of Economics*.....	5	12
Bye, *Applied Economics*.....	4	10
Reufner, *Principles of Economics*.....	4	10
Hayes, *Our Economic System*.....	3	7
Thompson; Edie; Schlicter; Cutler, Keezer, Garfield; Taylor; L. C. Marshall.....	1 each	15
	40	

The method of approaching the subject in the case of most of the texts, certainly the first three, is quite similar. If this sampling is reliable, the texts used in more than one half the colleges and universities are of the orthodox type with value theory as the core. Any one who has taught elementary economics or who is familiar with such texts as Fairchild, Furness and Buck, *Elementary Economics*, or Ely's *Outlines of Economics*, or Taussig, *Principles of Eco-*

[4] The postcard questionnaire was sent to a random sampling of one hundred colleges and universities listed in the Educational Directory of the Bureau of Education. The schools replying were: University of Arizona, University of Arkansas, University of California, Stanford University, California Institute of Technology, University of Denver, University of Florida, Shorter College, Armour Institute of Technology, Lombard College, Wheaton College (Wheaton, Illinois), Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Wheaton College (Norton, Massachusetts), St. John's College, Highland Park Junior College, Olivet College, University of Mississippi, University of New Hampshire, Dartmouth College, University of Buffalo, Cornell University, Skidmore College, University of North Carolina, University of North Dakota, University of Cincinnati, Case School of Applied Science, Denison University, Hiram College, Ohio State University, Swarthmore College, Brown University, Dakota Wesleyan University, University of Chattanooga, Texas Technological College, Emory and Henry College, Whitman College, Lawrence College, Beloit College, University of Wisconsin.

nomics is quite aware that these texts give rather rigorous attention to value and distribution with somewhat less emphasis upon economic institutions.

Evidence concerning the nature of the first course was also received from instructors' statements concerning the percentage of time devoted to various divisions of the elementary economics course in colleges and universities. These divisions are, of course, arbitrary and subject to the criticism that there is much overlapping between them. I believe, however, that the statements do give a general view.

TABLE II

Percentage of Time	Survey	TOPICS Production	Value	Distribution	Consumption	Economic Problems and Policies
Minimum	0	5	6	10	0	0
Maximum	33	35	40	35	20	50
Average	7.9	16.05	21.4	19.8	7.1	26.1

The evidence concerning economics in the senior high school indicates that the materials presented on this level are for the most part an abbreviated version of the first course on the college level. Economics is no exception to the downward shift of subject matter into the senior high school. It has taken on much the same form that we find on the so-called higher levels. Analysis of the textbook offerings on the senior-high-school level[6] reveals the following:

[6] A postcard questionnaire was sent to one hundred high schools selected at random from the Educational Directory. Thirty-three replies were received; the schools replying were: Meriden High School, Meriden, Connecticut; Hillsboro High School and Plaub High School, Tampa, Florida; Waukegan Township High School, Waukegan, Illinois; Washington High School, East Chicago, Indiana; Morton Senior High School, Richmond, Indiana; Burlington High School, Burlington, Iowa; Cherokee High School, Cherokee, Iowa; Senior High School, Owensboro, Kentucky; Old Town Senior High School, Old Town, Maine; Easthampton High School, Easthampton, Massachusetts; Highland Park High School, Highland Park, Michigan; Pontiac High School, Pontiac, Michigan; Central High School, Cape Girardeau, Missouri; Portsmouth High School, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Columbia Senior High School, South Orange and Maplewood, New Jersey; West Orange High School, West Orange, New Jersey; Niagara Falls High School, Niagara Falls, New York; Olean High School, Olean, New York; Hughes High School, Cincinnati, Ohio; Shaw High School, East Cleveland, Ohio; Central High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Williamsport High School, Williamsport, Pennsylvania; Watertown Senior High School, Watertown, South Dakota; Commercial High School, Providence, Rhode Island; Senior High School, Austin, Texas; North Dallas High School, Dallas, Texas; High School, South Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Whitcom High School, Bellingham, Washington; Franklin High School, Seattle, Washington; Moundsville High School, Moundsville, West Virginia; Bloomfield High School, Bloomfield, New Jersey; Cranston High School, Auburn, Rhode Island; Portsmouth High School, Portsmouth, Ohio; Palestine High School, Palestine, Texas.

TABLE III

ELEMENTARY ECONOMICS TEXTS USED IN 33 HIGH SCHOOLS

	Schools	Per Cent
Burch, *American Economic Life*	1	3.3
Carver, *Elementary Economics*	1	3.3
Ely and Wicker, *Principles of Economics*	6	18.8
Fairchild, *Essentials of Economics*	5	15.1
Faubel, *Principles of Economics*	3	9.09
Fay, *Elements of Economics*	6	18.1
Marshall and Lyon, *Our Economic Organization*	2	6.06
Thompson, *Elementary Economics*	10	30.03

If this example is representative, the dominance of an orthodox type of textbook is evident. Most of these textbooks are based on the assumption that economics is best taught by means of value theory, even if only an abbreviated introduction. As the case of collegiate courses in elementary economics, instructors' statements concerning the percentage of time devoted to various aspects of elementary economics were obtained. The results are summarized in the following table:

TABLE IV
TOPICS

Range of Percentage	Survey	Production	Value	Distribution	Consumption	Economics Problems and Policies
Minimum	0	10	2	5	5	0
Maximum	25	55	30	35	25	50
Average	8.03	21.4	14.9	19.6	14	20.03

Summarizing the evidence from textbook and instructors' statements, one may say that the first course on the senior-high-school level as well as the junior-college level is characterized by heavy attention to value and distribution with considerable emphasis upon problems of production and a strikingly small amount of emphasis given to problems of consumption. What is contained within the material listed under survey which comprises approximately eight per cent of the course is uncertain, but a safe assumption is that it is a consideration of economic history and a few definitions. Undoubtedly the paucity of materials and the fact that professional economists themselves have given compara-

tively little attention to problems of consumption accounts for the slight attention to this segment of the work. This is true of both levels. The present status of elementary economics on the senior-high-school level and the junior-college level may be described then as a typical principle course with production, value theory, and distribution receiving heavy emphasis.

PART II[6]

A mere analysis of the offerings and content in elementary economics in terms of present status is not satisfying. More fruitful and promising is a consideration of what an elementary course in economics might be. With that in mind, the writer of this paper submits a description of work in the field with which he is familiar, the first course in the University of Chicago, called the Economic Order. The Economic Order does not duplicate the work typically offered in the first principles course, but rather serves to introduce the student to, as the name of the course indicates, the concept that there is an economic order quite in the same manner as we have a biological order, or a physical order. The principles are not divorced from their actual setting. Syllabi and instructional materials have been gathered and developed to furnish the student with the needed institutional background. The Economic Order as now organized at the University of Chicago falls into four segments: (Part I) Introduction: Types of economic organization and the emergence of the modern order. This part is a largely historical consideration of other economic orders, Neanderthal, Neolithic, manorial, domestic, the student getting a sense of the impermanence of any given order. (Part II) Production: Its conditioning factors. The second part considers the problems of production with particular reference to our own economic order and analyzes the basic processes in production as applied to

[6] The writer is indebted to Mrs. Rachel Marshall Goetz for many suggestions incorporated in this section.

any economic order. (Part III) Coördination of specialists. This part deals with the question of coördinating specialists in our present economic order. Such a study necessarily entails what in many courses may be called marketing. Emphasis is placed upon price theory as a coördinating device. (Part IV) Social control and the economic order. Part IV serves as a summarizing device and considers the issue of social control.

If one considers the details behind the skeleton as described in the preceding paragraph, certain wide departures from this type of course as compared to the orthodox first course may be noted. Value theory, the heart of the traditional course, does not receive separate treatment, but rather recurs time and time again in the course as a device to interpret the economic order. The student's mental eye, however, is upon the order rather than value theory as such. The concept of an economic order is such an unfamiliar one that it is necessary to raise issues from time to time bearing emphasis upon the particular point of view that we have an economic order concerned with the problem of "economizing" and social costs constantly evolving and changing quite in the same way but not in the same sequence as the physical order or the biological order. Familiar concepts such as diminishing increment, joint costs, marginal utility, and others are given rigorous consideration not as unrelated entities, but as a part of an economic order. The concept of an economic order serves to unify and organize economic thinking.

I have attempted to introduce a new conception of a first course in economics which is the product of the thinking and leadership of L. C. Marshall in collaboration with many members of the economics and business staff of the University of Chicago, involving hundreds of problems, much collection and selection of material, and experiment with hundreds of students at the University. The writer is aware that similar attempts have been and are being

made at many other schools. The University of North Carolina, for example, has developed a first course in the field which introduces the student to economics via problems in the field. The writings of Professor Ise of the University of Kansas follow the point of view that economic theory must follow a knowledge of economic life and institutions.

The dissatisfaction with the first course in economics is general. The problem is a perennial one. Part of the discouragement and dissatisfaction with the elementary work results from too great expectations. After all, the *impasse* which exists between economic education and economic behavior may be due to too much faith in the power of education. The behavior change which results from such work is negligible and certainly difficult of measurement. We can expect some results from formal economic education if (a) much larger numbers receive such instruction, and (b) if the instructional materials are considerably changed.[7] It has been estimated that approximately 50,000 students annually take the course in principles on the college level. The Bureau of Education reports that 147,035 students (71,367 boys and 75,668 girls) took the elementary course in secondary economics in 1927-1928 in 4970 public high schools, with 6900 additional students in 346 private secondary schools. When one considers the total school population, secondary and university, the number touched by formal work in economics is indeed a small percentage of the total school population. Quite aside from such problems as faulty instruction, inadequate teaching materials, school formalism, lack of integration, the fact that economic education touches such a relatively small number may account for the presence of fallacious economic reasoning among the literate and formally educated groups. The whole point to this discussion is that when one is con-

[7] An interesting study in changes in economic attitudes on the part of the students taking the Economic Order at the University of Chicago is published in a report by Arthur W. Kornhauser in the *Journal of Business* for October 1928 and January 1929.

sidering the problem of economic education, too much emphasis is placed upon school and formal educational organization. That the present economic education obtained in schools of any grade is meager enough is true; yet one should realize that the school is only one small corner as compared to possibilities for economic education.

The scheme of economic instruction of the orthodox type is built on the assumption that man is neither rational, nor is it a certainty that he knows what he wants. Hence a first step in economic instruction is for the learner and the teacher to find himself in the general economic order, that he may have both a feeling of reality and his eyes open to the challenge of such an order. The methodological approach of orthodox theory with such of our tools as can be made available must be introduced as weapons with which to attack the problem of organization consistency; to set up standards of economic cost, evaluation of purposes of judging, and comparing social institutions and devices; and yet the orthodox approach, based upon the idea that certain principles of "economizing" social resources are discoverable, seems clearly valuable.

Specific content for the introductory work in economics such as price control, industrial combination, the price level, money, waste and illth, population problems, socialism, capitalism, industrialism, only to name a few cannot be taught as separate, disjointed, and uncoördinated problems. They must be viewed in some relation to each other. That the typical orthodox principles course gives any clear and connected view on these matters is certainly questionable.

Another problem which is always present in the teaching of economics is the problem of how best to effect behavior change with respect to economic problems. Should we teach those concepts which will guide individual behavior, *i.e.*, shall we teach how to invest money most wisely, or what kind of an insurance policy to purchase, or shall we teach those concepts which are wisest from the standpoint of

social policy, *i.e.*, shall we uproot the make-work fallacy or the newer types of mercantilism, *i.e.*, the chain-store controversy. It is with the latter attitude that I believe the first course should be concerned, for after all, standards of judgment, or awareness of issues involved, a broad if impersonal point of view, are and must be more significant for general cultural education than rule of thumb—even "scientific" methods of meeting the problems of transitory business situations. The individual's economic behavior is best developed by a wide view of economic life as an economic order and his activities are best guided by a knowledge of his niche in the scheme.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY, LONDON: ITS PROGRAM OF RESEARCH

H. WARD

The program of the present and future research of the Institute may be divided into five sections.

1. Vocational guidance research
2. Study of temperament
3. Study of motor ability
4. Occupational research
5. Industrial research

1. *Vocational Guidance*

Under this heading fall two experiments, one of which nears completion, while the other began 17 months ago and will extend over six years in all. The first of these began in 1925 when the testing, by means of vocational guidance tests, of 600 children leaving certain elementary schools in a London area was begun. The children were vocationally advised and their industrial careers and the careers of a control group of 600 children from the same schools followed up to July 1929. An attempt is now being made to assess the value of vocational advice by comparisons between the industrial success of those taking the advice given and those not taking it, using as a check the control group who were given advice not based on tests by a Care Committee Conference on leaving school. It is hoped that the report of the experiment may be completed shortly.

The second guidance experiment is planned on similar lines. Between four and five hundred children at various rural and urban elementary schools in Fife, Scotland, are being studied during the three years before they leave school. Advice will be given when they leave school. In extending the examining of children over a number of

years, it is hoped that light may be shed on the problems of when special abilities make their appearance. The importance of this question in relation to educational guidance is obvious.

The test results from the guidance experiment in London have provided material for monographs on tests of mechanical ability, tests of distributed attention, and tests of manual dexterity.

2. *Study of Temperament*

a) During 1929, a piece of research was begun, which is still in progress, into objective tests for temperament traits. Two tests were designed to measure calmness under pressure of work and persistence, and a questionnaire for self-reliance was devised. Difficulty was found in obtaining a reliable subjective ranking of the subjects, and it is hoped that a battery of tests using a number of situations with pressure of work as a common factor may be devised and that these may be intercorrelated and compared with a more reliable subjective criterion than has hitherto been available.

b) A study of perseveration with special reference to its importance in the various professions and trades is also being carried out at present. A number of patients at a mental hospital have been examined for intelligence and for perseveration, their mental and nervous symptoms noted and their ratable character traits estimated. A parallel group of normal adults have been studied for comparative purposes. The tests have been performed by a number of typists, who were also examined for speed, accuracy, and effect of pressure of time. The results are at present being analyzed.

c) Part of the Institute's program of future research is a projected study of social ability, when the possibility of devising a series of tests for certain of the elements constituting ability to deal with people will be investigated.

3. *Study of Motor Ability*

In this piece of research a study is being made of the relation between initial ability and practice in a number of routine assembling tests which have been given to adults and to school children. The results of the tests have been compared with scores in an intelligence test. The effect of breaks in the practice period is being studied. An analysis is now in progress which it is hoped may elucidate the problem of a "mechanical" factor as distinct from "general intelligence."

4. *Occupational Research*

a) Research into employment among boys between the ages of 16 and 18 in an industrial area of London, is nearing its completion. Two hundred boys who were applicants for unemployment benefit were personally interviewed, and three hundred boys, drawn in equal numbers from those who had first been engaged on leaving school in chemical, engineering, wood, miscellaneous factory and errand work, were persuaded to fill in a questionnaire. Comparisons are being made between the two groups. Within the employed group the earnings, satisfaction, turnover, and prospects afforded by each occupation are being contrasted. Within the unemployed group, the progress and prospects of those who had and of those who had not a definite objective on leaving school are being analyzed. The effects of a number of factors such as parental occupation, size of family, school attainments are being considered.

In addition an analysis is being made of over fifteen hundred paternal choices of occupations for their sons, in the light of their own experience.

b) It is hoped that intensive occupation analyses may shortly be begun. A start will probably be made on occupations suitable for boys and girls leaving secondary schools, by means of a questionnaire. The findings of this

questionnaire will be supplemented and probably modified by interviews and it is hoped that a number of the tests used in vocational guidance at the Institute may be given to representative groups in different professions, so that psychographs may be drawn up, giving, in addition to temperament traits, norms for intelligence tests, etc.

5. *Industrial Research*

a) During the past two years the Institute has been carrying out research on behalf of the National Institute for the Blind. This has included a study of occupations to discover those in which there was a possibility of employing blind persons. Experiments in different methods of working in the basket-making departments of various factories have been carried out, and a number of improvements made. This work is still in progress.

b) The extent and causes of daily variation in industrial efficiency with particular reference to women workers is being studied. Information is being gathered on (1) the effects of menstrual disorders and discomfort, (2) the effects of minor physical disorders, and (3) day-to-day variations during the working week.

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION AND PROGRESS IN GERMANY

CARL BRINKMANN

1. A political revolution usually means a good deal of general social, mental, and consequently educational change in a nation. On the other hand, it also means, or is the expression of, economic changes and transitions. These are partly apt to give greater momentum to the spiritual movements, but partly, too, to check and complicate them by the mere force of economic difficulties. The latter factor seems to be specially strong in the case of Germany, where the heritage of the lost war is not the only source of economic trouble. Administrative and financial rearrangement between the federal government and the governments of the single states is another. For just as in the United States, educational sovereignty in Germany rests as yet with the states and not with the federal government. Add to this that differences in wealth and progress are even greater between the German than between the American States, so that in reality the state of Prussia has the undoubted lead in educational policy, even more than it used to have under a weaker and poorer central government before the war. This again implies that the average educational policy of Germany after the war has been of a markedly radical character insomuch as the state government of Prussia, in comparison to the changing governments of the other states and also of the Reich itself, has all along been formed by a stable coalition between the Socialist and the Catholic Center parties and both of these, despite all their differences in underlying educational convictions, are largely recruited from the masses of workmen and employees who demand a new share in German education.

2. Primary education above all has come to be felt as insufficiently democratic since the revolution, both as to its

inner organization and as to its connection with the other branches of the educational system. A uniform basis of the first four years of elementary instruction, the so-called *Grundschule,* has been erected, above all with the intention of abolishing the class privileges assumed to have been hidden in the prewar possibilities of separate elementary instruction for upper-class children in private schools or elementary divisions of secondary schools (*Vorschule*). On top of this basis, there is a bewildering and indeed increasing variety of state and private institutions of intermediate and secondary instruction, with the tendency, on the one hand, more or less to equalize also the succeeding stages for all classes by extending as well as intensifying the curriculum of the mass of children, and on the other hand, to supplement this curriculum, after the age of compulsory education, by an ever more elaborate system of general continuation and special vocational schools. Economically, this amounts first to a considerable increase of public educational expenses all round, with the result that the famous prewar initiative of German municipalities in elementary and even secondary instruction becomes somewhat liable to dependence on the centralizing financial assistance of the states. As an offset, the legal extension of compulsory education one or two years beyond the present limit of 14 is beginning to be advocated as a device of diminishing the present high pressure of chronic unemployment on the labor market. The lack of vocational training, felt by Germany as by other highly industrialized countries after the breakdown or decrease of the handicrafts and their peculiar forms of apprenticeship, has given rise to a quiet, if determined, rivalry between the employers who are trying to appropriate vocational training with the help of a central institution, the Dinta (Deutsches Institut für Technische Arbeitsschulung), and the employees, whose political and economic organizations stand behind a new bill to take this training systematically at the hands

of the federal government. Like the American Federal Government, the German federal Department of the Interior is on the whole likely, if only for reasons of financial preponderance, to get an increasing hold of the German educational system.

3. A second main feature in the educational reforms of present Germany is the slow disappearance of the formerly very incisive cleavage in the training of school teachers themselves; *i.e.,* between elementary and secondary teachers. Whereas formerly only the latter were legally required to go through an "academic" training in the universities, after the revolution there was so great a rush of elementary teachers to these institutions that Prussia thought herself obliged to strike a middle course, substituting for the old rather routine-bound "seminaries" for elementary teachers the altogether new type of teachers college or "academy" which is to a large extent supposed to keep in touch with scientific research in either the same manner as the university or even in a kind of modern superiority to them. This new type, that has been taken over from Prussia by most of the other states, is certainly in keeping with the social and intellectual changes and ambitions pervading the whole school system of modern Germany. Economically it has yet to be tried with respect not only to its accelerating costs, but also to its possibilities of application to different economic and social conditions, such as rural in contrast to urban, or Catholic in contrast to Protestant or secularized surroundings. Not unconnected with this movement, a profound fermentation has set in also in the universities and other "high schools" (of technology, agriculture, forestry, and commerce) that used before the war to form the privileged training ground for the upper ranks of the civil service, the churches, and the professions in Germany. Here too economic factors are impossible of being ignored. Although the "high schools" have doubled their attendance since the war, and their

old system of privately endowed scholarships and assistances, a victim of inflation, has been replaced by new methods of state aid to needy students, the social composition of the student body is still overwhelmingly upper and particularly middle class, resulting in a rather conservative attitude of the majority of students and also faculties, and in a consequent tension between them and governmental educational policy at least in Prussia, while the smaller states are less and less able to keep their "high schools" abreast with the financial demands of international scientific progress. There is also a certain amount of opposition between the older "high schools" and the new universities in the big cities of Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, which on account of the considerable municipal influence on their constitution and administration have shown a greater pliability in handling the problem of the new student and the regrouping of sciences.

SOME NOTES ON ECONOMICS AND EDUCATION

W. R. BURGESS

In the years since the war many of the barriers between education and economic practice have been broken down. During the war and during the postwar fight for greater efficiency industry learned to use the theorist. The chemist, the psychologist, the statistician, and the economist all found their places in the ranks of industry, and today every large industrial and financial organization has its research staff and leans heavily on higher education.

The first consequence was to draw away from the colleges and universities many able teachers and investigators, just at a time when these institutions had not fully succeeded in adjusting their budgets and salaries to the scale required by postwar price levels. It was fine for business, but difficult for the colleges and universities. But the process of rebuilding faculties has gone on and the vacated positions have been competently filled so that the net consequence has been an increase in the number of positions filled by university graduates and a great increase in the range of occupation and salary open to the holder of a higher degree.

Up to this point the movement has been largely a one-way movement from the university into business but the university has in part benefited by drawing upon the experience of those who have combined practical affairs with the teaching of some courses. Over a term of years it seems entirely likely that the relationship between university and business may become more reciprocal; that more of those who have gone out into business may return to the university. The net result should, therefore, be beneficial all around. Business will get her scientists, the university will get men who have tested their theory in the school of practical affairs, and advanced training will offer to students more varied, more interesting, and more remunerative opportunities. With it all there should be increasing sympathetic understanding between the business man and the

university, and as a by-product a more ready support of the university by business. This is perhaps an optimistic forecast and there are many hurdles still in the way, but they do not appear insurmountable.

A number of adjustments have to be made. Business has much to learn before it can use to greatest advantage the scientifically trained man. One mistake is to assume that this man must go through exactly the same years of apprenticeship as did the present executive heads of the business, many of whom began as office boys or shop workers. University men should be able to short cut some of this training and make themselves valuable much more quickly than untrained men. And the business organization uses these men most efficiently only when it is geared up to move them forward to positions of responsibility more rapidly than under the usual routine.

But in recent years business has too often made exactly the opposite mistake and has assumed that the university man was qualified to assume executive responsibility immediately. The tempo and point of view of a business organization cannot be learned by starting near the top. The university man usually needs to go through some of the drudgery and exacting precision of clerical work before he can really grasp the speed, accuracy, and explicit obedience to orders that business requires. Just what is the proper dose of drudgery and the proper timing of advancement no one yet knows nor perhaps ever will know. It will differ in each business and with each candidate for position. One of the most difficult problems that economic practice faces in using the university man is combining the best educational program for the individual with the maximum of organization efficiency.

On the other side of the picture, education may well give attention to its technique in fitting the student for economic life. Out of many possible suggestions two may well be considered, which concern means for giving the student, in the first place, a better conception and habit of precision,

accuracy, and efficiency, and second, the means for giving the student the capacity to see beyond externals and details to the vital purposes of any pursuit.

The constant desire of the university to carry the student through a large mass of material frequently leads to encouraging slovenly work. In the university the student seldom rewrites a paper or article. In business the scientist is called on to rewrite a paper or article time after time until it is a finished product. All too often the university man comes to business with no conception of what it means to produce a report which is clear, precise, and convincing. It might be better in some courses to restrict the ground covered to two or three major topics and require each student before the end of the year to produce on each topic a finished report, rewritten as many times as is necessary to achieve the result, and also to write several reports on the same subject for different audiences. The same principle holds true as to clerical work. It takes many university men two or three years before they gain the habit of precision so that they can perform routine clerical work without making repeated errors.

The second suggestion is even more difficult. How can the apprentice worker get the conception of directing his work towards major aims. The university course calls for the learning and reproduction of ideas. The business problem calls for the assembling of information upon some question, frequently without much guidance as to source. To master the details but subordinate them to the aim is the problem. The technique of preparing for a college debate approaches in some respects the method of business, though the argument must stand up under more searching scrutiny. The project method of teaching perhaps describes this approach, and the methods being tried at the Harvard School of Business Administration offer interesting experiments.

All of these are problems in a relationship which seems destined to grow constantly closer between economic practice and the university for their mutual advantage.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL *may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

UNEMPLOYMENT STUDY[1]

An appropriation of $75,000 for the study of causes of seasonal unemployment in the Philadelphia area has been made by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. It is anticipated that from the study may develop some means to regulate employment that may benefit the entire nation, such as a preventative against seasonal fluctuations making for steadiness throughout the year, and that the experience of one large industrial community may be of value to others, as a test case.

STUDIES IN COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

Dr. A. Monroe Stowe, professor of education, Randolph Macon Woman's College, and author of *Modernizing the College*, has completed his bibliography of studies in collegiate education including the recent literature on the subject. This appears as a bulletin of Lynchburg College.[2] It includes 1,040 titles and contains an index to all references. It has been compiled for use in the study of college problems of interest to college faculty members and students.

RESEARCH IN CHILD STUDY CENTERS

The *Child Study Magazine* for July 1930 contains a very valuable survey of the research work being carried on in child-development centers. The survey is designed "to

[1] *Better Times*, June 9, 1930, p. 4.
[2] Volume IV, Number 3, June 1930.

give a general picture of the nature and variety of the studies in child development and behavior which are in progress or have recently been completed. Some of the leading centers are organized for carrying on child-welfare research from many angles. The data and the accompanying photographs which are reproduced in the pictorial supplement are furnished by those in charge of the work at the various centers."

The following centers are included in the survey:

Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota
Merrill-Palmer, Detroit
St. George School for Child Study, Toronto, Canada
Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University
Child Care and Training Department, University of Cincinnati
Washington Child Research Center, Washington, D. C.
Institute of Child Welfare, University of California
Department of Home Economics, University of Chicago
Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture
Child Study Association of America, New York City

The Omaha Institute for Social Research

The Omaha Institute for Social Research was organized for the purpose of coördinating the research work of the Department of Sociology with the social activities of the community, thus establishing a closer relationship between the social program of the city of Omaha and the University of Omaha. The advisory committee which is composed of University officials and executives of Omaha social agencies aids in the selection of research projects for study and renders valuable assistance in making available sources of data in coöperation of their various staffs, in devising means of making the research projects useful to the community, and in coördinating the theoretical and practical aspects of sociology. Lack of funds has made it necessary to rely largely upon outside sources for the publication of most of the projects.

The Institute publishes a bulletin in which its various publications and projects are announced. Studies have

already been completed of divorce and its causation in a local county in Nebraska, of illiteracy in the city of Omaha, of recreational facilities of Omaha churches, of the cause and extent of crime among foreigners in Omaha, and of the social determinants in juvenile delinquency.

Projects in progress deal with social legislation in Nebraska, public and private welfare in Omaha, and similar topics.

Publications of the United States Office of Education

The Office of Education of the Department of the Interior publishes from time to time a variety of bulletins, reports, and other materials which should be of great interest to educators throughout the country. Parts of these materials, which are the result of research studies of various phases of educational problems, are available in limited editions for free distribution. After the free editions are exhausted, the materials may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents of the Government Printing Office (Washington, D. C.) as long as they are in print.

Bulletins on various educational topics are available from the Office of Education as far back as 1912. A list of all publications available in March 1930 has been published and may be obtained from the Office of Education.

The annual reports of the Commissioner of Education are now reports of the activities of the Bureau of Education itself. The bound volumes formerly issued under this name are printed under the title, "Biennial Surveys of Education." They differ from the old reports only in the interval between issues. The last annual report which contains general statistics was for 1917. As the material in each Biennial Survey is issued first as "advance sheets," each chapter constituting a separate pamphlet. These are listed under the head of bulletins. Old annual reports are available for certain years as far back as 1871 and may be pur-

chased at various prices from the Superintendent of Documents.

The following publications covering a great variety of topics of educational interest are obtainable (consult Office of Education list, March 1930): Biennial Surveys of Education, Circulars of Information, City School Leaflets, Commercial Education Leaflets, Community Center Circulars, Extension Leaflets, Foreign Education Leaflets, Health Education Publications, Physical Education Series, School Health Studies, Higher Education Circulars, Home Economics Circulars, Home Education Circulars, Industrial Education Circulars, Kindergarten Circulars, Lessons in Community and National Life, Library Leaflets, Reading Courses, Rural School Leaflets, Secondary School Circulars, Statistical Circulars, Teachers' Leaflets, and some miscellaneous documents.

School Life is a periodical issued monthly by the Office of Education (except during July and August). It is sent regularly only upon subscription, fifty cents per annum. It is intended to be useful to all persons who are interested in education and is not devoted to any specialty. Its ambition is to present well considered articles in every field of education which will be not only indispensable to those who work in that field but helpful to all others as well. Articles of high character dealing with problems of secondary education, home economics, the parent-teacher movement, rural education, and many other educational topics indicate the contributions made by this magazine which is an official organ of the Department of the Interior, Office of Education. This periodical may be considered an important source for research studies and methods in education.

A simplification in the general make-up of publications of the Office of Education is now in progress. The following documents will be issued: bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets, annual reports, biennial surveys of education, and reading courses. Bulletin series will consist of studies of

rather permanent interest and value in the various fields of education. Pamphlets and leaflets contain material of less permanent interest. Sections of the biennial surveys of education will still be issued in advance of distribution of the entire volume which will later be issued as a bulletin of the Office of Education. No changes will be made in the annual report of the Commissioner of Education.

BOOK REVIEWS

Delinquency Areas, by CLIFFORD SHAW and FREDERICK ZORBAUGH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929, 214 pages.

The Jack Roller, by CLIFFORD SHAW. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 205 pages.

Five Hundred Criminal Careers, by SHELDON GLUECK and ELEANOR T. GLUECK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, 362 pages.

The debate, begun a generation ago, as to whether delinquents and criminals constitute, as Lombrasso maintained, a constitutional type foredoomed by heredity to antisocial careers, or constitute, as Tarde maintained, a social class created by their life experiences, is still a source of controversy among criminologists. The majority of criminologists seem still to lean towards a constitutional explanation of the delinquent, to seek the etiology of his delinquency in physiological factors. The specific formulation of this point of view has been subject to fashion —Lombrasso's *l'homme criminel,* Goddard's mentally defective, Cotton's focal infections, the neuro-psychiatrist's psychopathic constitutional inferiority. As Slawson pointed out in his brilliant statistical study, *The Delinquent Boy,* the constitutional factors so frequently held to be explanatory of delinquency are associated with delinquency rather than causally related to delinquency. While it is true that if a group of delinquents are compared with a group of nondelinquents, the delinquents show a considerably greater incidence of mental deficiency, physical defects, and psychotic traits, this difference vanishes if delinquents are compared, not with a group selected at random from the nondelinquent population, but with a group of nondelinquents selected from the same socio-economic class as the delinquents (delinquents being invariably at a disadvantage as to economic status as compared with nondelinquents). So far as we can judge from our most reliable statistical studies, delinquency and constitutional inferiorities are associated, not merely with one another, but both with low socio-economic status.

This fact has led research workers in sociology to attack the problem of a possible causal relationship to delinquency of life experience in communities of low socio-economic status. *Delinquency Areas,* by Shaw and Zorbaugh, attacks this problem statistically. The study was made under the auspices of the Behavior Research Fund of the Institute for Juvenile Research. The raw data are the residences of some sixty thousand delinquents that have passed through the juvenile court of

Chicago. The data are grouped into series for different year periods. The data are then geographically distributed by plotting the residences on maps of the city. The city is then divided into square-mile areas, and delinquency rates computed for these areas. The results are extraordinarily interesting, showing an enormous variation in delinquency rates from area to area. Even more significant is the consistency of these rates for given areas over the twenty-five-year period covered by the study. Given areas have always had high rates of delinquency, other areas have always had low rates of delinquency, and this despite repeated shifts and changes in the population of these areas.

The authors have conclusively demonstrated that, for Chicago, delinquency is a phenomenon related to the community life of local areas of the city. The authors make some attempt to characterize the social life of specific communities, and through case materials to show the relationship of types of community life to the development of individual delinquent careers. Whether or not their hypothesis is correct, they have made a significant contribution to the definition of the problem. The book is one of the most important in the modern literature on delinquency.

In *The Jack Roller*, Shaw presents the life history of a young recidivist. The purpose of the volume is twofold: to show the relationship of the delinquent's life experiences to the development of his antisocial career; and to demonstrate the value of the delinquent's own story of his experiences for the understanding and treatment of his problem. The case is discussed by Ernest W. Burgess. Healy remarked some years ago that the boy's own story was probably the most significant single item in the clinical study of a case, picturing as it does the boy's conception of himself in his social rôle. Yet the average clinic, in a perfectly sound attempt to make the study of cases more objective, has been content with fragmentary material on the boy's conception of himself while attempting to assemble a mass of physical measurements, test results, and verified social-service records. Among the many lessons taught us by psychoanalysis is the lesson that until we understand the meaning and values of the individual's life experiences to himself, we are not in a position constructively to help him to deal with his problems. The analyst, on the other hand, has often emphasized the importance of immediate feeling values to the point of disregarding the individual's equally important conceptions of his social relationships. Shaw has succeeded in drawing out both types of material from the case under discussion. No one who has the responsibility for the guidance of maladjusted individuals can afford not to read this excellent discussion of the use of autobiographical material.

Five Hundred Criminal Careers is an evaluation of the effectiveness of the institutional treatment of young offenders. The data consist of careful investigations into the life histories of all prisoners released from the Massachusetts reformatories whose sentences expired in 1921 and

1922. There were 510 such men. The method of selecting the cases afforded a five-year post-parole test period to gauge the probable permanence of the reformation or to establish reversion to criminality. The objectivity and thoroughness with which these investigations were carried out is one of the great achievements of modern criminological research. One of the most significant aspects of the investigation is that dealing with the family and community life of these 500 offenders, for it tends to confirm the finding of Shaw in *Delinquency Areas* that delinquency develops in a social milieu peculiarly fitted to the breeding of crime. One of the most startling facts disclosed by the study was that, contrary to the claims of institutional reports that 80 per cent of those released from reformatories "do well," 80 per cent of the cases studied were known to have been guilty of criminal acts within five years of release.

Five Hundred Criminal Careers and *Delinquency Areas* are assured of places on the shelf of criminological classics. They are books which every educator who believes that education means adjustment to our contemporary life will find of the greatest interest. No social problem presents a greater challenge to modern education than does that of juvenile delinquency. HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

The Teaching of Ideals, by W. W. CHARTERS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, xii+372 pages.

Professor Charters champions direct moral instruction, reviews existing systems that practise it in Boston, Elgin, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, and shows how it should be done. Not that he opposes indirect moral instruction; on the contrary he regards it as "basic." However, it is "incidental" and so "accidental" and is consequently inadequate. "As a matter of general policy it is clear to the writer that the basic method of moral instruction is the indirect method, and on those occasions when this method fails to control moral situations, the direct method should be used as auxiliary" (page 184). It is clear from the general discussion that in the opinion of the author the indirect method regularly requires supplementation.

The indirect method begins with the situation which demands an act exemplifying an ideal; the direct method begins with an ideal and anticipates the situation in which one must act.

Though the opinion of leading educators, notably Dewey and Kilpatrick, opposes direct ethical instruction, Charters holds it is being widely and wisely and increasingly practised in our schools. He cites in illustration: "helping children who lack in forcefulness, self-confidence, or desire; giving talks on manners; conducting City-Beautiful Week, Thrift Week, and the like; providing drives for speed, accuracy, or neatness; encouraging the formation of health habits (trait actions for healthfulness); campaigning for kindness to animals; giving 'safety first' instruction (carefulness); fire-prevention exercises (carefulness);

teaching appreciation of the beautiful in the form of appreciation lessons in music, art, and literature; developing good sportsmanship; and encouraging the students to perform a good turn daily (trait actions for serviceableness)" (page 186).

In keeping with his theory of direct instruction, the author describes to us how it can be done. His technique is that of retail salesmanship and job analysis. The teacher is to "sell ideals" to his pupils and "train them on the job" of character building. There is to be a "blue print" for each grade giving specifications in terms of the ideal, the situation, and the suitable act exemplifying the ideal in the situation. Such a blue print is a "crosshatch" in which the ideals or traits appear in a vertical column at the left, the situations occur in a horizontal column at the top, and the appropriate responses, the "trait actions," appear in the squares constructed on these two sides (cf. page 89). It becomes possible to make "conduct assignments" (page 310), and to measure traits (chapter xvi).

Among the many significant positions taken by the author are these: There is a paucity of scientific literature dealing with the teaching of ideals, yet there is a wide geographical distribution of such studies being made in the schoolrooms of the nation.

The five fundamental factors in the teaching of ideals are (1) diagnosing the situation; (2) creating desire; (3) developing a plan of action; (4) requiring practice; (5) and integrating personality.

"The raw materials of character are the original tendencies of human beings and the forces of their environment" (page 16). In addition, the setting of our problem includes reactions, ends, habits, and feeling.

The ideals to be taught may be selected by (1) individual opinion; (2) consensus; (3) personnel analysis; or (4) activity analysis.

The situations to be utilized should be classified on the basis both of the traits to be exemplified and of the fields of experience "in a crosshatch formation" (page 103). They should be selected by using the principles of frequency, universality, importance, and difficulty. "The concrete situation is the matrix in which desire and knowledge develop into nascent character" (page 112).

Having selected the ideals, or traits, and the situations, the next step is the action which exemplifies the application of a trait to a situation. This is the "trait action." It must be described with sufficient detail to give the learner a clear idea of what he is to do.

There are suitable techniques for diagnosing and remedying individual maladjustments, for improving undeveloped traits of personality, and for conducting personnel bureaus in public high school and junior college. In indirect moral instruction, "a systematic blue-print program of moral instruction should be drawn up as a check list" (page 181). It is erroneous to identify "direct moral instruction" with "lectures on morals."

Thorndike's account of satisfyers and annoyers is used to justify a strong emphasis on rewards and penalties, the latter to include both corporal punishment and scolding.

The influence of example is a form of suggestion and the limitations of suggestion must be overcome by reason, whose function it is to weigh consequences, to resolve conflicts between ideals, to discover methods of applying the ideal, and to evaluate conduct.

Stories and songs present ideals in an excellent way but they must be followed by conduct assignments. Plays and games should be constructed by teachers and pupils in order to teach ideals directly.

In order to evaluate success in teaching ideals, traits must be measured, the technique for which, however, is still primitive though promising.

Character is to be developed through equal emphasis on specific learning and integration; through evolving reasonable principles of action. "Teach a child honestly to reason out his moral problems, and his character will care for itself" (page 347).

The six qualifications for the teacher of ideals are forcefulness, sincerity, sympathy, good judgment, perseverance, and resourcefulness.

It will be evident from these statements that little is left to the imagination and to spontaneity. Everything is blue printed and cross-hatched, even patriotism as the trait of courtesy in the presence of the flag and reverence as the trait of courtesy in church. System of the type of the filing case in an office is supreme. The atomic theory finds a new application in the field of character building. This is the very anatomy of morality—the application of scientific analysis to the teaching of morals. We can almost hear the Elgin children singing to one of the war tunes: "Monday, Morals; Tuesday, Manners; Wednesday, Respect for Property; Thursday, Safety; Friday, Thrift and Patriotism; and all you other children, we wish the same for you" (cf. page 197).

How shall we estimate this latest and very notable contribution to the growing body of literature of character education? Asking pardon for the reviewer's presumption, let these convictions be recorded.

1. Because the social situation in America calls for strong characters and because of the indisputable influence of ideas on conduct, there is much need of direct moral instruction of this kind in our schools.

2. There is grave danger that its formalism may become ineffective and even ridiculous in the hands of ineffective teachers. Pupils cast in this mould, and nothing else, might become lovely characters, or self-conscious prigs, or just informed about ethical duties.

3. The emphasis is too intellectualistic and too little based on the actual interests, activities, experiences, and social situations of children. Instincts, or their equivalents, though listed, do not adequately figure in the discussion. After all the weakness as well as the strength of the discussion is that it deals with "the *teaching* of ideals."

4. There is a hedonistic and utilitarian bias of the discussion. "Our virtues are so because they produce satisfaction" (page 219). This ethical theory should not be assumed without discussion but should be either defended or omitted.

5. The important questions of the teaching of religious ideals and of the relations of religion and morality are omitted, though it is clear the author draws his own inspiration largely from religious sources, and his valuable services in this field are well known.

After all, character education is just education, as education itself is just living. To live abundantly here and now is the problem of life itself, and so of education, and so of character education. Any teaching of ideals to be effective must keep a true balance in life between experience as intellectual and experience as physical, aesthetic, moral, social, vocational, and spiritual. The living of ideals renders this teaching unnecessary. The way of living in home and school is doing more to form character than both indirect and direct moral instruction combined. Yet, because ideals are not lived, they must be taught, indirectly and directly; and, if directly, the blue-print, crosshatch method of Charters is good, supposing the teacher and the teaching are good.

HERMAN H. HORNE

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Victor H. Noll, instructor in educational psychology at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed educational specialist with the National Survey of Secondary Education, under the auspices of the Office of Education in the United States Department of the Interior. He began his new work August 1. Mr. Noll is the author of *Laboratory Instruction in the Field of Organic Chemistry,* which will be published this fall by the University of Minnesota Press.

A New Editor

Dr. Charles H. Judd, director of the School of Education of the University of Chicago, and the retiring editor of the *School Review,* announces in the September issue that Professor Leonard V. Koos assumes the editorship. He will have the coöperation of his colleagues on the faculty of the School of Education of the University of Chicago. He will continue the policy of conducting the *School Review* as a national journal open to all contributors who are engaged in improving secondary education.

Dr. Joseph Burke, an instructor in English at New York University during the past two years, has completed the doctorate and accepted the position as dean of instruction in Ward-Belmont College at Nashville, Tennessee.

Professor F. R. Clow of the department of sociology and educational sociology of the State Teachers College at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, recently died after a long and successful tenure as a pioneer in the field of social education. Professor Clow was the teacher of one of the first courses in educational sociology offered to teachers, as well as the author of one of the early books in this field. He helped organize the National Society of Educational Sociologists.

Dr. Walter E. Spahr, chairman of the department of economics at the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance of New York University, has received the eighth annual Alvan T. Simonds $1,000 Economic Contest Prize for an article on "The Federal Reserve System and the Control of Credit."

W. W. Raker, formerly superintendent of schools at Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, has been appointed a member of the faculty of the State Teachers College at Kutztown, Pennsylvania.

Walter Roberts, who has been connected with the public schools of Philadelphia for twenty-five years, has been appointed principal of the West Philadelphia High School for boys.

Mr. M. H. Thomas, formerly assistant superintendent of schools of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, has been elected superintendent for a four-year term.

Dr. Mervin Gordon Neale, dean of the School of Education of the University of Missouri, was appointed president of the University of Idaho on September 8 to succeed Dr. Frederick J. Kelly, who has resigned.

The new members of the instructional staff of the department of educational sociology of New York University are for the present year:

Miss Rhea Boardman, who was field supervisor of the National Committee of Visiting Teachers, is assisting with the work of the Sociological Clinic.

Mr. F. J. Brown, who is assistant professor of education and associate director of extension and summer session of the University of Rochester, is enjoying a leave of absence. He is doing graduate work besides his teaching.

Mr. S. O. Rorem, superintendent of schools of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, resigned his position to continue his graduate work.

Mr. Alvin E. Belden, M.D., of the department of sociology of Franklin-Marshall College, joins the department also as graduate student and instructor.

Associate Professors Kimball Young and Ralph Linton have become full professors of the University of Wisconsin. The title of Professor Young's chair is now professor of social psychology.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College has resigned his chair in historical sociology to become general editorial writer for the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. He will write daily editorials and articles on historical and sociological topics and will be located in the general executive offices in New York City. He will retain the post he has occupied for a decade as lecturer on the history of civilization at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

The St. Louis University announced in May the establishment of its School of Sociology and Welfare Work.

A foreign student conference for those coming to the United States to study in American colleges was held at the Storm King School, at Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York, from September 15 to 20, under the auspices of the Institute of International Education. The idea is to orient the students to American life before they are dispersed to the institutions where they are to study during the academic year.

The eleventh annual conference of the Progressive Education Association will be held from February 19 to 21, 1931, at Detroit, Michigan. This conference precedes the meeting of the Department of Superintendance of the National Education Association, scheduled to be held in Detroit from February 22 to 26.

The fourth biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations will meet at Denver, Colorado, from July 27 to August 1, 1931, it has been announced by the federation president, Dr. Augustus

O. Thomas. The program will feature plans for the promotion of world understanding and good will.

The Virginia Bureau of Research was organized to make studies of economic, social, and political problems and to provide the people of Virginia with information on matters of public interest. Two bulletins have appeared. The first deals with the industrial statistics of the Virginia Department of Labor and Industry, and the second with the administrative reorganization of Virginia. Robert C. Smith is the director of the Bureau, which is located at Richmond.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists was held at the University of Iowa, May 16 and 17. The following addresses were given: "The Changing Standards of Living in Iowa," "Methods and Techniques of Sociological Research," "The Present Status and Some Probable Future Trends of Agriculture in Iowa," "What Should Be the Scope of a State Department of Child Welfare?" "Special Education in the Public Schools of Iowa," "Our Changing Society: Its Cause and Its Future." Separate round tables on economics and on sociology were held.

The New York sociologists have organized an informal discussion group which meets the last Saturday of each month for luncheon at one o'clock at the Town Hall Club at 123 West Forty-third Street. The first meeting in the fall was September 27. The group has no formal organization, dues, officers, constitution, or name. The meetings are merely for the purpose of getting acquainted with each other and discussing problems of sociological interest. Sociologists and members of the American Sociological Society outside New York City are welcome to attend the meetings of the group when visiting New York.

The fourth session of the Institute of Public Affairs, which is sponsored by the University of Virginia, was held at University, Virginia, August 3-16. The daily program included a public address, an open forum, and round-table conferences on the administration of public business, business and government, consumers' credit in America and its relation to present and future prosperity, the country church and world affairs, the economic and industrial development of the South, national country-life questions, our Latin-American relations, and reorganization of State government.

The board of trustees of Indiana University has authorized the organization of a bureau of social research in the department of economics and sociology. The bureau will be located in Indianapolis and will begin to function September 1. It will be concerned particularly with the establishment of a system of monthly reports of statistics from health, relief, and court agencies by census tracts in Indianapolis and with the systematic analysis of the data reported. It will also probably be the policy of the bureau to undertake one of several projects,

proposed by interested organizations, which is of concern to the State as a whole.

The annual meeting of the American Home Economics Association was held in Denver, Colorado, June 24-28. The central theme of the meeting was "The Modern American Family and Its Home." Speakers at the general sessions included A. L. Threlkeld, superintendent of Denver city schools; Dean Margaret Justin, president of the American Home Economics Association; Martha Van Rensselaer, assistant director of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection; John Nolen, architect and city planner of Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Dwight Sanderson, of Cornell University. Small group meetings were held to consider such phases of the family and its home as family relationships, family economics, the house, food and nutrition, and textiles and clothing. Miss Frances Swain, supervisor of home economics in the Chicago public schools, was elected president for the coming year.

Materials for Armistice Day

A revision of the folder containing program material suggested for the use of schools in the celebration of Armistice and other patriotic holidays, emphasizing world fellowship and peace in place of rivalry and war, has just been completed by the Women's International League. This source list of poems, stories, prose readings including Bible selections and the speeches of famous men, plays and pageants, dances, songs, and topics for talks or essays, was originally prepared by a group of teachers several years ago and has had wide distribution. It now appears with the addition of much new material and may be obtained (single copies free of charge, two cents apiece in quantity) from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Pennsylvania Branch, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Mr. Nels Anderson received his A.B. at Brigham Young University. He did most of his graduate work in the sociology department at the University of Chicago and is continuing that work at New York University. Mr. Anderson is now an instructor in sociology at Seth Low College of Columbia University and is a lecturer in educational sociology in the School of Education of New York University.

Carl Brinkmann is professor of economics in the University of Heidelberg, Germany.

W. Randolph Burgess is a native of Rhode Island. He has attended Brown University, McGill University, and Columbia University, having received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees. Dr. Burgess has been with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since 1920. He has served as assistant director of the division of statistics, War Industries Board, and as statistician with the House mission to France and England with the title of Major General of Staff. Dr. Burgess is a member of numerous associations and fraternities and has written widely on statistical, educational, and financial subjects.

Dr. Luther S. Cressman is a member of the Department of Sociology of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Professor Cressman received his bachelor's degree at Pennsylvania State College, and his master's and doctorate were received at Columbia. During his graduate study at Columbia he was associated on the instructional staffs of City College, and the Seth Low Junior College of Columbia University. During the year 1925-1926 he held a Traveling Fellowship of the General Theological Seminary of New York, in Europe. Dr. Cressman is the author of *The Social Composition of the Rural Population in the United States.*

Professor J. L. Meriam received his A.B. at Oberlin, his A.M. at Harvard, and his Ph.D. at Columbia. Professor Meriam has had wide and varied experience as teacher in village schools, high-school principal, and superintendent of schools, as well as critic teacher and director of one of the most widely known experimental schools in the United States. For twenty years Dr. Meriam was professor of education and director of the Experimental School of the University of Missouri. A notable outcome of his work and experimental study was the publication of his book on *Child Life and the Curriculum.* This experimental school was one of the first attempts to set up a program of education of the interests and activities of child life. Professor Meriam is a nationally known figure as a lecturer on education in summer schools and teachers' conventions.

H. G. Shields is assistant dean of the School of Commerce and Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Harold S. Tuttle, associate professor of education at the University of Oregon, is a native of Minnesota. His undergraduate work was done at the College of the Pacific, his graduate work at the University of California. Besides teaching in the field of education he has taken an active part in the movement for vacation and weekday religious education, and for character education in the public schools. Recent articles in educational journals have stressed the need of greater emphasis on personality culture in the public schools. The Abingdon Press has just published his monograph entitled "Character Education by Church and State."

Mr. H. Ward, M.S.C., is general secretary of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

The JOURNAL *of* EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV DECEMBER, 1930 No. 4

EDITORIAL

The problem of character development has always been regarded as of first importance in our social and educational consideration. It has, moreover, in recent years come to occupy the place of first importance in educational discussions and it is regarded as vital from the educational or social point of view.

This recent increase in the interest in character education is evidenced in the news and notes of this issue in which the numerous conferences of the past year and the coming year are reported, in which researches are undertaken, and in which numerous publications are noted. The character of this emphasis is, moreover, displayed in the book reviews which indicate the trends in the discussion of the methods and resources for character development. One may note a marked trend away from the old formal methods in which writers emphasized the necessity of developing the essentials of character by giving formal instruction with the object of developing courage, honesty, and the like in children.

The trend indicates that character and personality are to be realized through the situations offered in the whole curricula set-up and are to be outcomes of instruction incidental to the whole program of education. No one now seems to

feel that you can teach children directly to be honest and courageous through direct ethical instruction or through the presentation of examples of courageous actions and honesty in behavior. In other words, character as conceived as modes of behavior and conduct cannot be acquired through formal acquisition of knowledge.

As a matter of fact character is a matter of habits and attitudes that are developed in the process of education through the acquisition of experience and this emphasis is made throughout the articles that appear in this issue. Professor Borgeson, who organized the Character Education Discussion Conference in the department of elementary education last March, has presented an outstanding achievement in bringing together in this issue these extraordinary articles from leaders in the field, in the wise selection of the book reviews, and in reporting the news from the field. We believe that this issue of the JOURNAL takes a distinct step forward in presenting material to the educator that will help in his program of reconstruction in the field of character education.

COMMENTS ON CHARACTER EDUCATION FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW

FRANK N. FREEMAN

What is character, to what extent may it be influenced, how may it be influenced? Advocates of methods of character training often pass over the first two questions without so much as a passing glance, and treat the third dogmatically and with no attempt to give satisfactory evidence of the value of their methods. Psychologists and educators are now quite confident that many of the methods used in the past defeated their own ends. An example is given by Hartshorne and May of a group of children belonging to an organization which attempted to improve them by encouraging them to report their own good deeds. Whatever else this method accomplished it was apparently very effective in making the children dishonest. At this time when so many are seeking a panacea for misconduct it is worth while to pause while we make an analysis of fundamental principles.

In our thinking about the practical problems of the development of character, we are apt to draw a sharp line between those attitudes or those acts which fall within the realm of good or bad conduct and those which are neutral in respect to conduct. Those attitudes or acts which may be called good or bad are evidences of character and those which may not be called good or bad have nothing to do with character. This is the point of view which is often taken by the educator or the person interested primarily in the prevention of crime or other misconduct. The scientific student of human behavior, however, is likely to find difficulties with this sharp distinction. In fact, he may arrive at a point in his attempt to explain behavior when distinctions between conduct which is judged to be good or bad,

and behavior which is ethically neutral disappears. The problem of character development, from this point of view, is concerned not merely with the acquisition of a certain limited set of ideas and habits, but is broadened to include the control of all those conditions which influence the individual's behavior. Character education, under this conception, becomes synonymous with the whole of education in all its parts and aspects.

The point of view of the psychologist is shown in the way he goes about the study and treatment of delinquents, particularly juvenile delinquents. In such cases the individual has done something which brings him into conflict with society in general or with the portion of society which constitutes his immediate environment. The psychologist does not begin, as the moralist or the jurist might do, by analyzing and classifying the person's act, trying to decide what principle of conduct has been violated and what penalty attaches to the violation. He rather inquires into the individual's physical and mental constitution, into his parentage, environment, and education, both formal and informal, and into his life history. He analyzes the individual instead of his act. When he has completed this analysis he recommends a regimen of education which will remake the individual and will touch all those features of his life which bear upon his conduct.

The psychologist's conception of conduct and of character education is sometimes misunderstood. Because he sees the individual's behavior as all of a piece and regards the separation of acts into two distinct categories, the ethical and the neutral or expedient, as artificial, he is sometimes regarded as a breaker-down of all standards of behavior. Quite the contrary. He does regard it as quite absurd to consider smoking an ethical question and drinking coffee a neutral question, or playing cards an ethical question and playing checkers a neutral question. Such distinctions are based on authority, and not on science. From the scientific point of view, everything that may affect the individual's

development and his adjustment to his world is significant. Nothing is neutral.

If we are to adopt the scientific point of view, then, these conclusions seem incontrovertible. Conduct or behavior, and the factors which influence conduct or behavior are all of a piece. We must not break behavior up into two separate realms, calling one moral and the other nonmoral, either in passing judgment on behavior or in planning for education in behavior. All of education has conceivably an influence on conduct and all elements or procedures in education which may influence conduct must be taken into account in a scheme of character education.

Considered in the large, the development of the child has two aspects. The first is the organization of the individual, considered as an individual, the development of systems of activity which work smoothly and effectively, and taken together form a well-integrated or harmonious whole. The individual's impulses and acts should work together without friction or confusion, performing their function like a well-constructed and well-oiled machine. The individual should be active, energetic, and at peace with himself.

But this is only half the story. A machine is intended to do something, not merely to excite admiration by running smoothly. Likewise an individual must accomplish certain tasks, perform certain duties, do some work in the world. In short he must adjust himself to the environment in which he finds himself. He must meet certain demands of his physical world and of his social world. Adaptation is as essential as is development. These two processes, taken together in their proper relation, and in all they imply, give the elements of a complete formula of education. They likewise give the basis of any adequate scheme of character education. They involve character in both its meanings, as it refers to the traits of the individual considered in and for himself, and to the individual's mode of meeting the demands made upon him by society.

If we analyze education in behavior still further from the psychological point of view we find that it consists of three constituent processes; the development of the emotions, training in habits, and the formation of ideas or the development of the ability to think. The first of these, the development of emotions, forms a large part of the integration of personality. Training in habits promotes integration and also brings about adjustment to the simpler and more stable elements of the environment. The formation of ideas and thinking complete and rationalize integration of the personality and serve as the prime means to a delicate, far-reaching and effective adjustment to the world of things and of persons.

Many cases of serious conflict and misdemeanor arise from emotional maladjustment. This maladjustment may appear early in the child's life, and may be ascribed partly to native predisposition and partly to injudicious treatment. Character, in this sense, is due partly to nature and partly to nurture. The part that is due to nature is beyond our control but a large part is within the control of the parent and the teacher, provided they have gained sufficient mastery of their own emotions. The technique of education of the emotions is being rapidly developed in child guidance clinics and psychological laboratories. This technique should constitute an important share of the teacher's equipment for character education.

Habits are often despised by the modern educators on the ground that they are opposed to thought or reflection; but the psychologist commonly regards habits as means of economizing mental energy and as essential to efficiency. Perhaps the real objection is not to habits themselves but to habits which originate in external control as distinguished from those which the individual forms in his own initiative. Many of the habits formed in childhood are of the first sort. In part they represent ways of behaving which are customary in the group; in other words, convention. It is idle to despise convention. It is the basis of every

individual's behavior, and is an essential part of his education.

The relation of ideas and thinking to conduct has also been variously judged. Intelligence has sometimes been held to be the chief factor in good behavior. This is true both of intelligence regarded as knowledge or information concerning the facts of the situation and the probable consequences of various lines of action, and of native wit or keenness which enables one to apprehend the situation and to forecast consequences. On the other hand, the limitations of intelligence as a guide to conduct are often pointed out and the importance of emotion and habit are emphasized. Having given due weight to these factors it is desirable, especially at this time, when the importance of adequate ideas and straight thinking tend to be minimized, to point out its important function.

Conduct is unquestionably governed to a very important degree by the conception one has of the meaning of the situation. To take but a single example, at the time these words are written, drinking alcoholic beverages is regarded by many conscientious persons as highly reprehensible, not only because of the injurious effect which they believe it has on body and mind, but because in most cases it involves a violation of the basic law of the land. On the other hand, drinking is regarded by other equally conscientious persons as a virtuous act on the ground that it constitutes a protest against a law which is subversive of correct governmental principles because it invades the individual's right to control his private affairs. The issue is an intellectual one, and should be debated and decided by the method of scientific investigation and generalization.

As the above example suggests, the realm in which intelligence has the most direct and significant bearing on conduct is social science. The broadest and deepest foundation for behavior which can be laid in the child's experience by education is a just and comprehensive understanding of human relations. A better understanding of the inter-

dependence of human beings and of the ways in which the strands of human life are knit together may be expected to improve the way people manage their relations to each other in all groups from the family to the nation and even to the world. To give the child such an understanding should be a cardinal objective of education throughout his school career.

While, then, character and character education are not separate and distinct from behavior in general or education in general, there are certain aspects of behavior and certain features of education which are particularly significant; namely, those which concern the relationships of persons to each other. The current interest which is being manifested in character education will be fruitful if it promotes as one of its forms of expression a thoroughgoing, scientific expansion and intensification of the study of social science and the incorporation of the outcomes of such study into the curriculum of the school.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR THE WORK OF CHARACTER EDUCATION

HUGH HARTSHORNE

Preparation for public-school teaching is always a two-faced undertaking. The natural conservatism of institutions makes unavoidable a large degree of more or less graceful acceptance of things as they are. The streams of young teachers trickling into the system can hardly be expected to carve out new channels for the great river of established practices. They must be able to fit into existing situations and perform the offices which are legally enjoined upon them.

Were this the only duty of the new teacher, education would be a sad profession indeed. Institutions are conservative, but they are not necessarily unchanging, and where, if not to the young teacher, ought one to be able to look for the freshness of outlook, the responsiveness to ideas, and the willingness to experiment, which keep any civilization from dying of dry rot.

The work of building character offers no exception to this general rule. There are established practices with which new teachers must become familiar, and there are new and revolutionary theories of which they must also take account. But neither a Rome nor an ideal school system can be built in a day, and while new experiments are being tried the established procedures must not be allowed to disintegrate.

At least four of these established procedures offer genuine opportunity for growth in character if intelligently used. The first responsibility of a training school might well be to bring these existing methods of character education more into the foreground and to provide definite practice in their use.

The first existing opportunity is our old friend discipline. That we depend on it for results is beyond question. That we misuse it with evil effects on character is equally obvious. A teacher's first problem is the general atmosphere of the classroom. The technique of creating an atmosphere of mutual friendship, confidence, and respect is the basic achievement for the new teacher. To this extent, the new education is, *ipso facto*, character education.

But the discipline of the classroom, so often made a mere convenience for the handling of large numbers of children and so often consisting of those feudal habits of blind obedience, docility, and passive waiting, must needs make way for the emergence of self-discipline and the building of active good neighborliness, response to need, and resistance to usurped authority, which are requisite for any democracy.

These skills of democracy are not the inevitable products of so-called progressive education. Modern private schools are not noteworthy for their socializing effects even though their underlying theory would demand results of this character. The reason for this is complex, of course. One difficulty lies in the very privacy of the schools, which withdraws them from intimate participation in the common life and so leaves them without genuine social experiences. But the primary reason, which applies to public as well as private schools, seems to be that the teachers have not been trained for the more subtle leadership which should result in the unconscious courtesies, understandings, and creative fellowships that characterize great teaching everywhere and are the mark of true culture the world around.

The second established opportunity which requires greater attention in normal schools is the present course of study. There is abundant emphasis on the character values inherent in history, literature, music, manual arts, and so forth, but little information is available as to just how the teacher is to act in order to realize these values. The current movement to unite in social science the subjects of his-

tory, geography, and civics and to incorporate all these interests in the conduct of constructive social enterprises offers the best illustration of the possibilities of the present curriculum.

In the third place, we have the extracurricular activities, often creating genuine life situations and providing experiences of the greatest value for character. There is little reason for supposing, however, that teachers and administrators are at present trained to discriminate among these activities or to handle them in such a way as to prevent destructive and degrading practices. The state of interschool and intercollegiate athletics is a notorious illustration of the absence of such discrimination.

The fourth established practice which requires the attention of the beginner and therefore of the normal school is that of special methods of character education. A large proportion of all new teachers will be expected to use some system or other of moral instruction or training. Unsound as such devices usually are, nothing is gained and much may be lost by careless, indifferent, or cynical attitudes on the part of the teacher. Such attitudes are usually the result of ignorance or helplessness. With fifteen minutes on her hands to be devoted to moral instruction, what can the untrained teacher do? Mechanically following a syllabus is a thankless and stupid procedure. But to conduct a useful discussion of some important moral problem takes skill, and this in turn implies suitable training.

As the decision of how to utilize stipulated periods often rests with teachers, principals, or superintendents, it would seem that one essential feature of training, whether of normal school or graduate level, should be a critical study of existing plans and devices. All too often some much advertised scheme is adopted without adequate appreciation of limitations which should be obvious to any one familiar with educational psychology. Nevertheless these schemes and programs thrive. Where, if not to our training schools, shall we look for continuous and thorough-

going criticism of the flood of courses and other devices which are demanding recognition as accredited agencies of character formation?

Simple as are these proposals for the sharpening of the normal-school curriculum at the point where it affects character, they are not so easy to follow. We do not as yet know how to develop in others the fundamental personal attitudes that issue naturally in moral leadership; there is no bag of tricks for turning a course of study or a student activity into a character-forming experience; nor do we possess such understanding of the moral problems of children as would make it easy for us to train others to use wisely any time that may be set aside for character education. Consequently we shall probably not be over-successful in our attempts to prepare teachers to fit into the established scheme of things.

It is quite possible, however, that our inability to use present arrangements and programs goes deeper than we realize. If we begin by admitting that we are at a loss ourselves we may feel free to start our training with a few problems rather than with a few pet solutions. Let us frankly admit that one reason for our lack of confidence in our ability to train teachers for moral education is that the established codes and sanctions are increasingly irrelevant to our rapidly changing social scene. We no longer derive our ethical standards from established authorities, whether of church, state, family, convention, or philosophical system. We may feel uneasy and lost without such authorities even while we repudiate them. But having emancipated ourselves, although quite unconsciously, to be sure, we are left without the effective weapon by which our fathers succeeded in cowing us into proper submission to established ways of acting and thinking—the weapon of moral certainty. We are no longer certain; and consequently we are quite unable to use successfully the methods of moral training which were once in vogue.

We may as well face the necessity, then, of preparing

teachers for the second of the two duties mentioned at the outset of this inquiry; viz., to *transcend* existing practice. The necessity is forced upon us, as has just been suggested, because of our changing views of the nature of the good life. But it is forced upon us also because of the changing views of education which are associated with current thought concerning authority, standards, ideals, and the like. A transmissive education is well suited to the concept of character which is passing, and the customary methods of school discipline, the elaboration of ideals embodied in literature, training in athletics, and the use of courses in citizenship are its proper instruments.

But a scientific morality cannot be transmitted. It is not based on the authority of tradition. History is its servant, not its master. Only through genuine moral experience can this new morality develop, and genuine moral experience is all but impossible under prevailing school conditions. If character is to result from experience in school, the school itself will have to be changed. Nothing we can do by way of preachments, courses, activities, moral tone, and all the rest can provide in itself the environment needed to assure moral growth. We all know this perfectly well, particularly as we attempt to work out the implications of modern education for any age, such as the kindergarten, or any subject, such as health, but the same impartial objectivity that has been brought to bear on phases and aspects of the school must be made available for the criticism of the child's entire school experience.

A dynamic morality does not consist of a set of precepts or even of a set of habits. It cannot be achieved by study, by imitation, by inspiration, or by fragmentary occasions of freedom and minute experiments in limited self-direction. Morality which is more than conventional respectability results from the *realities* of one's personal relations, not from their appearances or trimmings.

The factors to be dealt with in character education which is creative rather than transmissive are the factors which

determine the pupil's deeply personal responses. These include all the situations in which he comes into significant relations to other persons—his teacher, his principal, the janitor, his fellow pupils, his parents, the superintendent, the board of education, his fellow citizens. It is what he does with, for, and to these persons that constitutes his educative experience. If he is the seemingly passive subject of their efforts, does nothing with, for, or to them, his character will be correspondingly suppressed, cynical, or blank. If he reacts with hostility, self-assertion, submissive obedience, greed, or fear, his character will be fundamentally antisocial. If he is treated to a variety of influences, some stimulating and helpful, some oppressive and unsympathetic, he will develop a chameleon-like protective armor, appearing always in the guise which nets the most profit from each situation.

Roughly speaking, most of us belong to one or the other of these three groups. Doubtless the last category is the most numerous. In our best moments we recognize the inadequacy of our own training and of our own variegated character. The problem is, what to do about it?

As far as the training of teachers is concerned, we can begin by making of normal schooling itself an education in character. That is, we can begin by reconstructing the training school so that character will result from experience within it. The teacher or administrator, to be sure, cannot take this "character" away with him and put it to work in an alien situation which does not provide the elementary conditions of socialized experience. But along with the character-forming experiences of the normal school there should go critical appraisal of the politics, the administration, the curriculum, the classroom methods now current, and actual drill in the management of schools and classrooms on a plane of respect for all persons involved in them.

Such respect implies trust, courtesy, personal interest, concern for difficulties and limitations, enlarging contacts

and opportunities, shared responsibilities, free discussion of moral problems and ideals, and tolerance of differences of opinion.

But the school which makes possible this thoroughgoing humanizing of all its personal relations has yet to be built. The main task of teacher training, so far as it relates to character education, is to investigate the problem of how the school itself, in its very structure and daily life, may provide those experiences of fellowship, social participation, thoughtful consideration of values, and responsibility for results by which alone true character can be achieved.

CONSTRUCTING A CHARACTER CURRICULUM

L. THOMAS HOPKINS

The first step in the construction of a character curriculum is to isolate and define the components in a complete act of character. For this discussion the writer proposes the five components given below.

1. *Recognition of the character situation.* An individual must recognize a tool before he can use it, and a problem before he can solve it. In the same way that he must recognize the quadratic equation before he can find the value of "X," so must he recognize a character problem before he can determine the right action.

2. *Wholesome attitude towards the situation and its solution.* Mere recognition of a problem is no guarantee of its solution. Such recognition must be accompanied by an impelling emotional desire to solve the problem. In the same way that a pupil may recognize his history assignment and fail to prepare it because of a wrong attitude towards the teacher or the subject, so an individual may recognize a character situation and fail to do right because of an unfavorable mind set.

3. *Conscious decision as to what is the correct solution of the specific character problem.* In character situations the individual may have the right action forced upon him from the outside so that he becomes merely an executor of the conscious decisions of some one else. Genuine character development is not promoted by extraneous control. The individual must make his decision by his own critical thinking. He must break down previously developed competing patterns of response, weigh all immediate values, evaluate possible future consequences, and select the result which he thinks will bring the greatest good to the greatest number of persons for the longest period of time. Having made his decision, he must put it into operation and accept the consequences.

4. *Practice in carrying out a decision which has been consciously attained.* The end in character education is the practice of right action in the particular situation. The solution of character problems should not be left, therefore, as academic ideas isolated from the original situation which prompted the consideration, and divorced from the immediate correct practice. The ideal situation is one in which the problem arises, the analysis is made, the decision is reached, and the practice is immediate.

5. *Remedial treatment with individual help and guidance.* Guidance is needed by the individual in isolating problems, building right attitudes, making and executing decisions. Some individuals may waver at any one of these steps and a few individuals may falter at all of them. In the same way that good teaching demands the isolation and study of individual disabilities in school subjects, so the character act is not complete until the causes of failure in each have been isolated and the best available treatments have been suggested.

The second step in building a character curriculum is to define the relationship of character education to the total processes of education. Individual growth takes place along many lines, of which character may be only one. A comprehensive overview of all education with critical insight into its various parts is necessary in that both the whole and each of its parts may be better understood. Furthermore, many social agencies are promoting character education. This overview is basic to a consideration of the contributions of the public school to the entire program so that each agency may support and make more effective the work of all others.

The third step is to define the relation of character education to public-school education. Public-school education is composed of many and varied activities of which character education may be only one or the essence of all. The curriculum maker must see clearly the place of character education in the whole program just as the architect must

plan the relationship of various parts of a building to the total structure. Without such definition, character education may absorb public education or may be assigned too insignificant a place resulting in slight improvement in pupil practices.

The fourth step is to define the aims of the character curriculum. In every type of curriculum there must be some definite aims to define the end of action and guide its processes. The nature of these aims has a decided effect upon the selection and organization of materials, learning procedures, attainment of outcomes, and measurement of results.

The fifth step is to construct the course of study. This may be divided into a number of smaller steps.

1. Collect a large number of character problems which have arisen with children of various ages. These should come from all activities of children in the particular age group. They should be carefully checked for genuineness and frequency of occurrence in the normal experiences of children at that level.

2. Classify the situations for teacher reference and guidance. Select the units which best meet the needs of the community and the members of the teaching staff. Some systems may wish to group situations around activities, others around children interests, and still others around character traits. When character traits are used, concentration on certain traits may be advisable. Situations not related to the traits may or may not be eliminated. Each year the trait would be approached through new situations.

3. Work out for each type situation a very definite plan of teaching procedure together with clearly defined pupil-learning techniques. This will give the teacher a very definite understanding of a successful way of aiding children in experiencing all of the steps in the complete character act as outlined above.

4. Indicate to teachers the best methods of measuring pupil growth in meeting character responsibilities. From

year to year children should increase in ability to recognize their problems, solve them independently, and carry out their decisions with courage and vigor. Methods of measuring such growth are essential.

5. Illustrate for teachers the methods of locating pupil disabilities with their causes and remedies. Many children meet character responsibilities with certainty and dispatch, some with hesitation and doubt, while others fail to accept them. Detailed case studies should be presented to teachers to guide them in dealing with these two problem groups.

6. Indicate how the school can better be organized for character problems to emerge A broad general curriculum, a large amount of pupil initiative, a genuine social atmosphere, and teacher leadership rather than dominance are all potent factors to this end.

The sixth step is to indicate to teachers how such a course of study should be used.

1. The character situations given in the course of study for the different grades need not be taught as such by a teacher. They should be used by her as a guide in increasing her sensitiveness to real character problems arising within the experiences of the members of her own group. These genuine situations should be used for teaching. When the situations presented in the course of study have been selected with care, the probability of their actual occurrence is very high.

2. The methods suggested in the course of study need not be followed by the teacher in toto. These are only suggestive, and should be modified to meet the needs of the group in the particular situation, providing always that experience in the complete character act is developed.

3. There should be no definite period set aside in the school day for character situations to be analyzed. The whole program should be so flexible as to give opportunity for character situations to arise, and for adjustments in teaching programs to be made, thus enabling the teacher to deal with the situation while the readiness is potent.

4. The teacher should recognize that the only attack upon character education which has produced results is the direct attack. Character situations must be isolated, analyzed, and conscious decisions reached. Making them ancillary to regular school subjects has not, and probably cannot, produce results, since the psychological basis is unsound. The program presented here is similar to that which is producing results in other school fields, and is analogous to that used in the home, the outstanding social institution in its influence upon character practices.

HOME AND SCHOOL IN CHARACTER TRAINING

CHARLES E. GERMANE

Parents are teachers. They are the first and most influential teachers that the child ever has. Whether the child becomes physically strong, intellectually developed, and emotionally balanced depends largely upon the parents' sympathy for and understanding of child life. The idea that parenthood brings with it sufficient knowledge of child nature to ensure wholesome physical, intellectual, and emotional development is no longer tenable. Parenthood not only brings life's greatest opportunity—the child—but life's greatest obligation—thorough preparation for the rearing of the child.

THE TWO GREAT NEEDS FOR CHILD TRAINING

Success in child training depends largely upon (1) more knowledge of child life, and (2) greater appreciation of the influence of environment upon the plastic nervous system of the child. All about us we see evidence of these needs.

When an adolescent girl is granted her own way after pouting and sulking, she is learning to pout and to sulk when her wishes are thwarted. When a mother cares for her baby after he has screamed and yelled, she is teaching him to scream and yell to get attention. If a little girl is not given her favorite doll until she throws herself into a tantrum, she is learning to resort to tantrums to get her own way. If, in the above cases, there had been understanding of child nature on the part of the parent, and thus no yielding or compromising until the child exhibited self-control, these children would speedily have learned to respond in more wholesome ways. Children soon learn what kind of behavior yields the desired results.

It is vital that parents appreciate the force of environment upon child life. The home is the laboratory in which

many of our elemental characteristics had their origin. Who can estimate the blight on the life of a human organism whose first dozen years are exposed to an atmosphere of family quarrels, the ever-changing moods of a tyrannical father or a hysterical mother, the fears and depressions caused by economic troubles? Such conditions are as dangerous to the intellectual and emotional development of the child as is infantile paralysis to his physical development. Likewise, it is impossible to overestimate the wholesome effects of a happy home life where parents daily exhibit consideration and affection for each other and for their children, and manifest confidence in themselves and the future success of the family.

Those who have made careful studies of "crime-breeding areas" in our cities have very definite data to offer. Over a period of years, certain poor sections of large cities produced practically all the criminals, while desirable, residential section of the same cities sent no inmates to penal institutions.

Why Home and School Should Coöperate in *Character Training*

No institution can coöperate so effectively with the home in a study of the problems of character building as the school. The home and the school have under their direct guardianship and influence all youth in the years of its greatest sensitivity and plasticity. Both are interested primarily in child training and are set apart for the business of helping the child develop physically, mentally, morally, and emotionally. Both are directly aware of the many undesirable habits or faults of the children. Daily they can see what life situations or problems the child is failing to meet satisfactorily and which are causing him to make unwholesome social adjustments, and together home and school can provide a program of living which will help the child meet and solve his many problems, and which will ensure the replacement of bad habits with good.

The Nature of a Constructive Character-Education Program

Any constructive character-education program is both remedial and preventive although, invariably, the remedial phase is most emphasized. The reason for this is obvious. Practically every child acquires certain undesirable ways of responding to some of his many life situations. In time, these undesirable responses become fairly well-fixed patterns of behavior. Usually these undesirable behavior responses are outstanding. Thus, a significant phase of character training is the replacing of these maladjustments with wholesome habits.

Far too often the best energies of parents and teachers have been devoted entirely to the remedial phase of character training. This need not have been had a wise guidance program provided adequate and wholesome outlets for the child's innate desires, and had he early in life been guided in meeting his perplexing problems.

The preventive phase of a character-training program is concerned with setting up genuinely interesting and socially desirable activities for children, all to the end that their time and energies may be wholesomely employed, and that they may be wisely guided daily in making responses to their many life situations. Such a program of living would prevent the origin and formation of certain grievous faults typical of children whose impulsive urges are denied wholesome outlets.

Factors Entailed in a Remedial Program

Some of the more essential factors of a coöperative home and school remedial character-building program are: (1) to ascertain the undesirable habits that are outstanding in this particular group of children; (2) to study the several causes or conditions which operated to develop these faults; and (3) to set up a series of activities and ways of responding to life situations in the home, the school, and the com-

munity which will encourage the children to make wholesome responses, and thus will cause the undesirable habits to die of disuse.

Possibly one of the best ways of ascertaining the undesirable habits that are causing the children to fail in meeting their problems is through the community parent-teacher study groups. At the first meeting, parents and teachers conscientiously list the undesirable manifestations of conduct as they see them in their children. No names are signed. A composite list is prepared by a committee for the next meeting and presented to the study group. Each ensuing meeting centers around some of the outstanding maladjustments that have been listed.

In many instances, taking the faults of the children as the course of study is just a *courteous* way of presenting the faults of the parents and teachers. For as the group begins to study, it soon realizes that children are simply the replicas of their environment, and the home, school, and community are in reality responsible for the development of undesirable behavior patterns.

Following the selection of outstanding maladjustments for study, pertinent references are assigned for study and discussion, and parents and teachers together try to determine the several probable causes which have contributed to the formation of these responses. As they study and discuss the origin of these faults, they are actuated to take the next logical step; namely, the setting up simultaneously in the home, school, and community, a program of living which will help the children to make desirable responses.

For example, in one community, carelessness was found to be a maladjustment causing trouble both in the home and the school. In some homes, children spent the morning frantically hunting for shoes, gloves, hats, or books, and consequently arrived at school tardy, without breakfast, and emotionally upset, only to go through the same frantic hunt for books and materials. After studying together the

causes of these maladjustments, teachers and parents decided that a series of unwholesome responses resulted because the children had not learned the value of tidiness. Consequently a definite effort was made to help them meet all life situations demanding orderliness in a more wholesome manner.

In the school, each child was given a definite place to keep his supplies and belongings, and was held responsible for being ready for work. Those children in whom the habit of carelessness was firmly established were selected as members of certain desirable committees, the successful functioning of which would give much practice in the trait-needing development. For example, the Home Room Club appointed as chairman of the "tidy committee" one of the pupils most careless about hanging up his hat and coat, putting away materials, etc. The prestige and responsibility connected with his "office" encouraged practicing with satisfaction a very much-needed response.

Parents were encouraged to turn their homes into veritable laboratories in which situations supplementing the work of the school could be set up. It was agreed that if an untidy, careless child were given a room, a dresser, or even a couple of drawers in a dresser for his very own, and then held responsible for its orderliness, and at the same time was made director of orderliness in the home democracy for the next few weeks, he would, through experiencing with satisfaction, be stimulated to make the desirable response of orderliness.

In the degree that the home and the school discover the life situations which are causing the child to make these undesirable responses, and then set up a series of activities which make it possible for the child to make wholesome adjustments, will a remedial character-education program really bear fruit.

Factors Entailed in a Preventive Program

A preventive program of character training involves sev-

eral factors, chief of which are: (1) A study of the various impulses and interests of children of each age level, noting individual differences of children of the same age. (2) A selection of materials and games which will afford wholesome outlets to these various impulses and interests. (3) The setting up of activities in the home, school, and community which will ensure wholesome outcomes or desirable habits. It is not enough to supply materials and activities which are genuinely interesting to children. Wise supervision of the ways the children respond individually and in the group is necessary. Snobbishness, selfishness, and poor sportsmanship may have their inception in group activities in spite of the fact that materials have been intelligently selected, and the interests of the children considered. But children who are happily engaged and who are interested in their activities are more easily helped to see and to do the right than are those who live in an environment of denial and inactivity.

Thus a coöperative preventive program is really a guidance program wherein the home and school prevent the formation of undesirable habits by helping the child in those life situations where he is likely to fail. In many instances, the child makes wholesome choices unaided, but often the clash between impulsive desires and duty is too much for him. Guidance at all those points where wrong choices are likely to be made is a vital factor of a preventive program.

Not the least problem in a preventive program is keeping the children wholesomely employed. In few homes are there responsibilities which take much of their time. What are they doing in the out-of-school hours? School, home, and community could sponsor activities which would stimulate the boys and girls to wholesome physical, intellectual, and emotional development. The following are illustrative of those sponsored in forward-looking communities:

1. Community music organizations such as choruses, orchestras, and bands.

2. Community playgrounds providing clean, well-supervised sports.

3. Nature-study clubs. Such clubs functioning during the long summer vacation have been of inestimable value to children whose time would otherwise be questionably occupied.

4. Trips to museums, parks, and industrial plants.

5. Good moving-picture shows.

6. Reading clubs especially when the homes coöperate. Wise selection of interesting, wholesome books for children is a most effective way of giving them right concepts of the worth-while things in life.

7. Interesting church and Sunday-school activities in which children learn the Golden Rule by realizing its significance in the coöperative enterprises that they initiate and carry through.

8. Youth organizations such as Camp Fire Girls and Boy Scouts if directed so as to enrich the personality and develop stability of character.

But few preventive measures for character building have potentialities equal to those inherent in the close companionship of parent and child. In the daily experiencing together, in the little "chats," the hikes and games, are infinite possibilities for helping the child form right concepts and make right choices.

In conclusion, the school and the home share in having the world's most interesting and perplexing laboratories in which they may carefully study and experiment. They have the opportunity to read, discuss, and work out environmental conditions in the home and school which will supplement one another in helping the children make wholesome adjustments to their baffling problems. In the degree that these two institutions accept their responsibility and coöperate in the great work of character building will the lives of the boys and girls be effective and happy.

CHARACTER EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOL

A. L. THRELKELD

Character education is the broad problem of successfully rearing the young. Many agencies participate in the process. Fundamental to all of these undoubtedly is the home, but the home finds it increasingly necessary to depend upon other agencies for help. Most prominent among these other agencies undoubtedly is the school.

It will here be contended that a situation has suddenly developed in the whole set-up of life incident to the change from an agricultural to an industrialized, urbanized civilization which throws upon the school an unprecedented responsibility in this matter of character education. It will be further contended that the general principles of procedure which have been selected by social experience as basic to character education must be appropriated by the school if it is successfully to meet this new responsibility.

To present these contentions it will be necessary to draw attention to the great change that has occurred in home life. It is the effect which this change in the home has upon the school that is of primary concern here.

Let us consider the type of home that existed in the old agricultural type of civilization. To bring the essentials of this home into relief, it will be necessary to take an extreme illustration. Consider the old farm home in which the following conditions prevailed.

The home was made up of father, mother, several children, and perhaps one or more relatives outside of the immediate family. This home was practically a complete social structure; that is, it produced within itself the necessities of life for the individual and for the family group. In this program of producing the necessities of life within the limits of the home itself, duties and their attendant responsibilities were assigned to the various members of the

group. Each had his task to perform. The child at a very early age was given a place in the social order, which it was his to fill efficiently. If it was his assignment to gather the eggs at a certain time in the afternoon, he had to perform this task with regularity and thoroughness. If he had to get up the cows in the evening, the same conditions prevailed. Failure in any such tasks meant that the whole society was held back. Failure to perform duty brought with it an immediate consequence easy of appreciation. It was only by one's meeting one's duty promptly and efficiently that one could live in such a home with satisfaction. There was, then, in this old home situation a continuous program of duty performing and responsibility meeting almost from infancy to the grave. Surely it is obvious that a program of duty performing and responsibility meeting is fundamental to character development. This sort of program the home in the agricultural type of civilization contained in itself.

Certain features involved in character education that may not be suggested by the program just referred to were also contained in this old home. Father and son worked together in the field. They were side by side as many of the problems of life were met. In this relationship many of the great lessons of life were handed down direct from father to son. The father faced many problems involving ethical principles and the son saw with his own eyes how these problems were met. He saw how the solutions used by his father in meeting these problems worked. By seeing them work well he learned their value. They became a part of his character. To transmit the social inheritance necessary to meet these situations, little help was needed from outside agencies.

The same process occurred between mother and daughter. There is no need here to repeat any of its particulars.

The old home was dependent for the most part, if not altogether, upon itself for recreation and amusement. Even

this aspect of life occurred as a home activity under the leadership of parents.

There was interaction among homes of such a character as to afford a rich field for the development of ethical concepts, habits, attitudes, and appreciations on the part of children under the immediate leadership of their parents. Borrowing back and forth, trading work, and the like, provided a field of experience out of which character was certain to develop. A home was a good home to the extent that it met its obligations to its neighbors. In this old home life the operation of those principles of living which experience has shown to be basic to character education is seen in clear relief.

In this situation very little, relatively speaking, was delegated to the little red schoolhouse on the hill. It was not practicable to teach the mechanics of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the home, so this function was delegated to the school. The school was not to any appreciable degree held responsible for whether boys and girls turned out to be good or bad. This responsibility was felt directly and felt keenly by the parents. If a group of young people were found guilty of wrong behavior, it was not the habit to cry out, "What is the matter with our schools?" In the kind of set-up here reviewed there was practically no tendency to hold the school responsible for character shortcomings. The failure of youth was the failure of the home.

But now to consider the home that is typical of the present. It is found in the city. It has changed its life to conform to the new age, the highly industrialized, specialized, interdependent life referred to at the beginning of this article. The home no longer produces its own food and clothing and very little of its own recreation and amusement. To meet the economic responsibilities of the home, the food- and clothing-getting responsibilities, the father is taken out of the home. Millions of mothers have been drawn out of the home to help meet these responsibilities. To the extent that older brothers and sisters help in these

duties they are also drawn out of the home. Mothers who are not constrained to help in meeting the economic responsibilities of the home find themselves obligated through a sense of civic duty to participate in various community activities that have their bearing upon the general tone of community life.

What has happened in this situation to the relationship between parent and child in this matter of character education? Is it possible in the type of home now being considered for the parent to exercise the direct leadership that once was his in developing the character of his own offspring? Now, it is a wise child who knows what his father does for a living. He can tell you whether his father is a banker, a lawyer, a surgeon, a brick layer or whatnot, but can he tell you what his father does in his profession or occupation? Does he get to see how his father meets the ethical problems that arise in his everyday life? Surely this is enough to suggest that much has passed out of the home so far as direct administration of character education by parents is concerned.

It is not here contended that the direct responsibility which parents still have in this field is insignificant. Quite the contrary is believed to be the case. Further, it is not the contention that through this change the home is disintegrating. If the home succeeds in rising to the new types of responsibility presented by this change, the writer claims it would be operating on a higher level than homes have ever occupied before. But a discussion of neither of these aspects of the situation is here pertinent.

We are here concerned primarily with two questions. First, has there been a shift in the scene of operations for this process of a child's growing up in a program of duty and responsibility meeting towards his group? Whatever of the essential society loses at one point it must gain at another if it is to survive. Second, what does this shift mean for the schools in this matter of character education?

It seems to the writer that there has been such a shift,

and that herein hangs much of the tale with regard to the character-education function of the school and many other agencies which deal with young people outside of the home. We see all sorts of group activity programs for young people coming into operation under professional leadership. But here we are concerned primarily with how this change affects the schools. Throughout the schools of the country the change from the old order is easily observable. Group activities of all kinds go to make up school life. Most of these we call the extracurricular program. But in the regular work of the schools we have the socialized recitation, the project method, the group purposeful activity, and the like. Each of these represents a situation analogous in many respects to the psychology of the old home above referred to. Many of the psychological ingredients of the old home are found here. No doubt they are much diluted in many cases, but something of the fact remains. We find the individual pupil functioning as a member of a group. To him are assigned certain duties which he must meet promptly and well. If he meets them promptly and well, he is a good citizen; and he learns that this is success, that good character is a way of successful living. If he fails in his duties towards his group, he suffers an unsatisfactory reaction, which causes him to tend to drop that sort of behavior. As far as it goes, this program of group activities in our schools of today is a program of living in terms quite similar to those of the old home. Not only the group within the school, whether in the classroom or in the extracurricular activity, provides this situation of responsibility meeting towards one's fellowman; but in so far as the whole life of the school is socialized, the atmosphere of the school is that of a social group in which there is a natural assignment of duties and responsibilities to groups and individual members of groups, which duties and responsibilities must be promptly and successfully met if the whole enterprise in which all are interested is to go on. In this situation, failure to perform duty promptly and well inter-

feres with the life of all. The on-going process of society is checked. The bad effect of this is obvious. The good effect of duty promptly and well done is likewise obvious. Right action in terms of what is best for the school as a whole becomes identified with the individual's desired way of living. Thus, he acquires good character, so far as it is known what good character is.

It is along this line, then, if our social inheritance points the way at all, that character education in the schools must be worked out. To what extent is the school socialized? To what extent is every social situation that arises in the school skillfully engineered by the teacher so that the maximum of constructive experience potentially in it is realized by the individual participant? Answers to these and questions similar to them will show the extent to which the school is constructively adapting itself to a character-education program. Specific courses of study in the field of behavior, and the like, will find their places at certain points, but they will be most effective only when offered in a school which itself as a whole is pointed right for character education.

The principal challenge contained in this situation right now for students of character education lies in the need for developing in teachers, principals, superintendents, and all engaged professionally in education a clearer view of what this newer program in the schools is all about. To a great extent the great variety of extracurricular activities, the socialized classroom procedure, which by implication includes group purposeful activity, and the like, have grown up "like Topsy." It may be suggested that society has here been groping, on the whole rather blindly, for a substitute for the old home program, a substitute appropriate to modern life. The situation here facing the schools calls for the highest type of engineering intelligence. To bring to bear upon this rich field of early, vital experience in the reactions of the individual to group life, the very source of character itself, the finest and most constructive engineering techniques which it is possible for our best intelligence to devise

is the primary challenge now before us school people as far as character education is concerned. The call is for the leadership of the social psychologist. He should be able to put meaning into this maze of activity now found in the schools. Let us make certain that we have applied our best intelligence to the whole school life. Highly particularized schemes for character training can well await this more fundamental adjustment of our point of view towards the school as a whole.

THE PRESENT DILEMMA OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

JESSE ALLEN JACOBS

Religion in the United States, before the advent of the scientific method, was generally regarded as having to do essentially with the supernatural. It was its supernatural origin which distinguished it from other fields of human thought and activity. God had revealed his laws to his prophets, who had then recorded them in the sacred writings. Admittedly, secular codes might be changed to meet novel situations, but "God's laws" were immutable. Ecclesiastical leaders waged fierce warfare over the amount of water used in baptism or the relative scriptural authority of doctrinal positions, but they raised no questions regarding the essential supernaturalness of religion. Religion, thus conceived, was assumed to be unique in essence, to represent the will of God for men, to be the cornerstone of the Republic, to be the only valid basis for true morality and genuine civic enlightenment, to be the most dignified of all human experiences.

Religious education where such a conception of religion prevailed was not a serious problem. Training, for the most part, was an unconscious process with the growing child, a group experience integrally related to the total culture pattern and transmitted through the mores. If members of the group attained maturity without being inducted into the church, serious attempts were made to "get them saved" through conversion.[1]

Unprecedented changes during the last half century have rendered anachronistic the concept of religion we have just described and have created a new reliance on secular

[1] The emancipated urbanite of our day has difficulty in understanding the intensity of this type of religious experience or its effect upon its adherents. Current studies of existing isolated religious sects give insight into the nature of this experience and the effects upon it of modern urbanization tendencies. For recent researches revealing such effects, *see* Pauline V. Young, "The Russian Molokan Community in Los Angeles," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1929), 3, and Grace E. Chaffee, "The Isolated Religious Sect as an Object of Social Research," *op. cit.*, XXXV (1930), 4.

methods of adjustment. Ogburn[2] is doubtless right in his assumption that technological inventions in our material culture and discoveries in the field of science are responsible for these rapid and significant changes. A religion is always closely related to, or at least deeply colored by, the culture of which it is a part. Hence it is probably in a careful analysis of these changes that we shall find a clue to causes for lack of interest in conventional religious programs and for insight into ways of creating more adequate conceptions of religion.

Although a few ecclesiastical leaders have proposed the application of the "social principles" of religion to problems of today, it is doubtful whether many of them have understood the fundamental bearing of social changes upon a science of conduct and social organization. They have been aware that "something is wrong," that older concepts are scarcely adequate, but often they have been prone to make "unbelief" or "Godless humanism" responsible. The paralleling of a list of technological inventions and scientific discoveries with a list of consequent social changes is a good corrective for such a diagnosis.

These new discoveries—to list but a few of their more obvious results—have been responsible for the opening of wide gulfs between the thinking and the habits of youth and their elders; for the degeneration of the folkways and the mores of the older generation into myths and legends; the rendering obsolete of many prized skills; the shifting of the center of human contacts from personal to vast, impersonal, corporate activities; the discontinuance of age-old vocations and the creation of many new and varied ones; the developing of a vocabulary for a machine age as contrasted to one for a rural life; the calling forth of a new type of poetry, music, art; the formulation of new codes, laws, standards to meet novel situations; and the blotting out,

[2] Beginning with July 1928, the editors of the *American Journal of Sociology* have published a record of social changes for each year. In the May 1929 issue, 21 different areas are surveyed. William F. Ogburn in an article, "Inventions and Discoveries," describes one hundred inventions and discoveries for 1928 and shows their effect upon social organization.

through such means as the radio and aeroplane, of artificial boundaries and the making of the world into a potential neighborhood.

These shifts have all been in the direction of a new reliance on things secular. Poverty, famine, disease have been greatly mitigated and all but eliminated in wide areas of life. Increasing time for study, music, art, and travel has added zest to living. More people than perhaps in any other era during the last two thousand years are finding satisfaction, happiness, and relative security without reliance on supernatural religion.[3]

More perplexing, however, has been the dilemma created within organized religion itself. The scientific attitude invaded the seminaries. Following the Civil War, textual criticism (higher criticism) and the use of the historical method in religious research led to the weakening of the last strongholds of the older orthodoxy. The theory of the "verbal inspiration" of the Bible was exploded, and most of the miraculous and supernatural elements in religion were discredited. Authoritarianism still remained, but it was greatly modified. A few scholars abandoned it altogether.

In Colonial education, the "religious" and the "secular" were closely related. Pupils were taught reading in order that they might more intelligently participate in "divine services." The content of the "readers" was principally material selected from the Bible. The civic aim was incidental. With the development of the public schools as separate from the church-centered schools, the gulf between what would now be called "religious education" and "public education" was widened. Educators insisted that the church become responsible for "religion." But Protestant churchmen insisted that religious training continue in the public school. It was preposterous that in a "Christian country," the Bible was no longer read. Jews and Catholics evolved elaborate systems of parochial schools.

[3] For an elaboration of this point of view, *see* John Dewey, *The Quest for Certainty*, chapter I.

Religious leaders in all of the major faiths—Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant—have insisted that religious education be "something more" than that received through the public schools. Protestants have not pressed the point to the extent of developing parochial schools but have been aggressive in securing more hours for religious instruction. Some public-school teachers have agreed with the principle, but have been unable to work out a method agreeable to the religious bodies. Others have insisted that they had no desire to keep "religion" out of the schools but, because of the dangers of sectarian propaganda, were opposed to proposals to give religious instruction on public-school time. The position of a group of public-school and church leaders has been well stated by Dewey:

> But we do not find it feasible or desirable to put upon the regular teachers the burden of teaching a subject which has the nature of religion. The alternative plan of parceling out the pupils among religious leaders drawn from their respective churches and denominations brings us up against exactly the matter which has done most to discredit the churches, and to discredit the cause, not perhaps of religion, but of organized and institutional religion: the multiplication of rival and competing religious bodies, each with its private inspiration and outlook. Our schools, in bringing together those of different nationalities, languages, traditions, and creeds, and assimilatng them together upon the basis of what is common in public endeavor and achievement, are performing an infinitely significant religious work. They are promoting the social unity out of which in the end genuine religious unity must grow. Shall we interfere with this work?[4]

This controversy of the church with the public schools has been a losing one from the beginning. Not only so, but educational methods in churches have lagged behind public education. The public schools soon outdistanced their earlier philanthropic aims of making poor children literate in order that they might understand the constitution and laws of the country. But they did not lose their civic aim. As compulsory education became accepted, children spent increasing time in the schools. This necessitated an emphasis upon the civic and social aspects of child life. Civic

[4] John Dewey, *Characters and Events*, II; edited by Joseph Ratner (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), p. 514.

education—the development of good character—became a major objective. Certain churchmen contended that this emphasis without religious training was especially pernicious.

By the time certain religious educators had developed more up-to-date methods—as they seemed to them—the controversy between fundamentalists and modernists had somewhat subsided. One might have expected the dilemma would have been resolved. Unfortunately, however, two new and exceedingly disconcerting factors appeared in the situation: the "Humanist-Theist" controversy, and the development, during the last decade, of "character education" in the public schools.

In 1929 a conference was held at Northwestern University to discuss the problem, "The Place of Religion in Shaping Conduct and Character."[6] In the preface to the printed report of this conference, Professor Betts states the point of concern as it affects "character education."

> It is only in more recent years, especially since the character-education movement has come to occupy such an important place in educational thinking, that serious questions have been raised as to the part which religion does or does not play in education which seeks to influence conduct and character. In recent years some writers on educational subjects have denied to religion any place in character education.[5]

To the writer, it seems unnecessary for religious educators to mark off a special field. Problems common to them are becoming of increasing interest to leaders in a variety of fields. What does it matter whether the process be labelled "religious education" or "personal adjustment" or "civic education" or "character education" so long as new knowledge is being obtained, and intelligent guidance is the result? A variety of experiments from different viewpoints will ensure greater reliability. This assumption does not presuppose a loss of interest in "religion" or necessitate the abandonment of fundamental religious convictions. It

[6] For report of this conference, see *Religion and Conduct*, George Herbert Betts and others, 1930.

shifts attention from classroom speculation to an empirical attack on the real problems of everyday life.

Why not begin with those values about which there is more or less general agreement? Most people regard healthy, emotionally balanced, intellectually alert, altruistically inclined citizens, who take joy in their work, as preferable to the parasitic, self-centered, unintelligent individuals who look upon life as merely an opportunity for self-gratification. The lines between "good" and "bad" shade off into the controversial, but the extremes on both sides are usually distinguishable. If belief in God aids in the development of an integrated, happy, useful, intelligent individual, it should not be despised; if, by the use of different labels, different concepts, and different techniques, the secularist develops noble conduct, his methods should not be rejected.

But a paramount essential for a science of conduct adequate in a scientific-machine age is scientifically ascertained facts—all the available facts about the nature of the world and of man.[6] One of the principal needs in both character education and religious education is better research techniques and more reliable data. There is little occasion for snobbishness on the part of any group. A prominent educator said, "Religious educators have no facts on which to stand. They have merely borrowed from public education. Their procedures have not improved the educational programs of the Sunday schools." Another educator, well known for his scientific investigations, said, "About the time of the World War, I took a year to study 'character education.' I spared neither time nor money in securing available materials. Upon the completion of my study, I concluded that it would take twenty-five years longer to obtain enough data for a science of character. I dropped the matter." Such an observation should be sobering to faddists.

[6] For a statement of problems in character education, *see* "Science and Personality," an article by Hugh Hartshorne, in *Religious Education Journal*, June 1930.

"The Census figures for 1926 bring out the magnitude of the church enterprise in this country. According to the latest returns there are 212 separate denominations having 232,000 churches and 44,380,000 members over 13 years of age. Denominational Sunday schools have an enrollment of more than 21,000,000 pupils, and even this figure excludes the pupils in undenominational Sunday schools and in parochial schools. The value of church edifices alone, not including such items as pastors' residences, investment property, school buildings, hospitals, etc., is reported as $3,800,000,000, while for 1926 the total expenditure of local churches amounted to $817,000,000. Such figures testify to the importance of the churches in American life.

"Some measure of the vast dimension of organized religion in the United States can be formed by contrasting data for public schools with those for churches. The 232,000 churches compare with 256,000 school buildings. The total number of 21,000,000 Sunday-school scholars is less by only 3,700,000 than the pupils in all the public elementary and secondary schools. The annual church expenditures of $817,000,000 is 40 per cent as large as the expenditures of public schools. Clearly, organized religion is an enormous social enterprise."[7]

Where then do the objectives of "character education" and "religious education" converge? That depends on the conception of education. Much present agitation for a moral or religious emphasis in education comes through a desire to preserve conventional beliefs, codes, manner, or moral precepts. Youth is exhorted to be honest, industrious, clean, and so forth in order that the *status quo* be maintained and "the interests of the firm" be advanced. Reasonable conformity to conventional manners is desirable. But for scientifically minded social scientists character education means something more basic. It represents a desire to keep our science of human conduct and human relations

[7] C. Luther Fry, *The United States Looks at Its Churches*, chapter I (New York: The Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930).

on a plane as scientific as that of our technological procedures. This implies an increasing ability to create more scientific techniques for social control; that education is incomplete if it fails to develop an adequate world view, an appreciation of the beautiful, a belief in the sanctity of personality, a firm confidence that the world can be made better, adequate skills for coöperative living, and most of all a desire and a motive power to find self-realization through intelligent social action rather than parasitic self-gratification.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE: *It is designed to make this department a clearing house* (1) *for information about current research projects of interest to educational sociology and* (2) *for ideas with reference to research methods and techniques in this field.*

Readers are urged to report their own research projects and to submit information regarding other projects of which they have knowledge. Suggestions as to methods of research will be welcomed and will be given publicity in this department.

From time to time this department will also make its readers acquainted with research resources in educational sociology. Contributions of this type from readers will also be welcomed.

It is desirable to make the program of research in educational sociology a coöperative one. To this end the names and addresses of those engaged upon research projects will usually be given in order that readers may exchange with them ideas upon related projects.

A DECADE OF PROGRESS IN METHODS OF MEASURING CHARACTER

During the year of 1920 and again two years later a committee of the National Education Association canvassed the opinion of those who were interested in tests and measurements as to the possibility of objective measures of character. Replies to the first inquiry showed only a handful of hardy souls daring to be optimistic. Replies to the second inquiry two years later showed that this handful had grown to a large majority. That something happened about that time to center interest on the measurement of character is shown by the record of publications. The bibliographies of May and Hartshorne[1] which catalogue the studies more specifically concerned with measurement show three times as many publications in 1925 as in 1924 and more than six times as many in 1926 as in 1924. Indeed, the studies published in 1926, which May and Hartshorne thought worthy of citation, exceed in number all those cited as appearing prior to 1925. It is fair to say that the

[1] M. A. May and H. Hartshorne, "Personality and Character Tests," *The Psychological Bulletin*, XXIII (1926), 395-411; XXIV (1927), 418-435; XXV (1928), 422-443; XXVI (1929), 418-444; and XXVII (1930).

past ten years have witnessed not merely extraordinary interest in character measurement but also permanent achievement.

The productivity of these years, at least in terms of quantity, has been enormous. Nearly a thousand articles, monographs, and books concerned more particularly with the measurement of character have been published. If studies employing ratings and observational methods are included, the total productivity probably approaches three thousand titles. An adequate summary and evaluation of available methods for the scientific study of character would require a volume. Here only the general trends and outstanding achievements in the field of measurement will be referred to. Attention will be centered on four of the most widely used and important methods.

The first serious attempts at the study of character employed rating devices. Widely and excessively used prior to 1920, almost completely discredited by 1925, ratings have recently returned to the fold of respectability. The very earliest studies by this method were unusually substantial. Twenty-five years ago, Cattell employed ratings in the selection of leading men of science.[2] The essential elements which gave validity to his data involved the collection of ratings (a) from a large number of competent judges, (b) on a factor which was relatively objective and open to the observation of all. If subsequent investigators had tested their use of ratings by these two points, much of the later criticisms of ratings might have been avoided. The study of Webb[3] published in 1915 will repay reading even at this late date for the care with which his data were collected and for the importance and theoretical background of the problem which he attacked. Beginning about 1918, however, caution was thrown to the winds and ratings of anything by anybody in relation to whatnot were reported.

[2] J. McKeen Cattell, *A Statistical Study of American Men of Science* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915).

[3] E. Webb, Character and Intelligence. *The British Journal of Psychology*, Monograph Supplement, 1915, I, No. 3, 1-99.

A committee of educators went so far as to propose seriously that character be measured by the individual's unverified estimate of himself. Then followed a series of highly critical studies of which those of Thorndike,[4] Knight,[5] and Rugg[6] were most important. The serious criticisms of ratings centered around the fallacies involved in self-rating, the tendency of the rater to record a general impression, and the unreliability of the data. These articles would have certainly marked the end of rating devices but for the fact that no other method of measurement promised to take their place.

The recent return of ratings to respectability has been due to improvements in ways of collecting such data, to supporting evidence from other measures, and to a clearer recognition of their functions and limitations. The knowledge of halo effects and of impressionistic tendencies led directly to the abandonment of devices which automatically accentuated these difficulties. The rater is no longer asked to underline *superior, above average, average, below average,* and *inferior* for a long list of traits. Instead, he is asked for a systematic record of what he has observed of the subject in a wide variety of defined situations. The unreliability of ratings has been compensated for by obtaining the judgments of many raters on several different forms on two or more occasions. If, in addition, ratings are obtained from several different groups as teachers, classmates, club leaders, and parents, the special prejudices of these groups tend to cancel each other with a resulting gain in validity. The use of ratings for the purpose of lending support to more objective measures in process of development has resulted in a considerable body of evidence supporting the validity of the ratings themselves. The Character Education

[4] E. L. Thorndike, "A Constant Error in Psychological Ratings," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, IV (1920), 25-29.

[5] F. B. Knight, "The Effect of the Acquaintance Factor on Personal Judgments," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIV (1923), 129-142.
F. B. Knight and R. H. Franzen, "Pitfalls in Rating Schemes," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIII (1922), 204-213.

[6] H. O. Rugg, "Is the Rating of Human Character Practicable?" *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XII (1921), 425-438; XII (1921), 485-501; XIII (1922), 30-42; XIII (1922), 81-93.

Inquiry[7] (page 231), for example, reports a correlation of .70 between a combination of teacher and pupil ratings and a pooling of a battery of objective tests. This agreement compares favorably with the agreement between two measures of reading ability or of school achievement. Finally, there has been a realization of the nature and place of ratings in a whole scheme of measuring character. It should be said emphatically that no one record, whether of conduct or of moral knowledge or of ratings, covers all of character and nothing but character. The usefulness of any kind of record depends rather on its capacity to measure some important aspect of character. Hartshorne and May[8] have demonstrated that under certain conditions ratings are as valid as measures of conduct. Moreover, ratings are especially well adapted to the measurement of reputation and of the social stimulus value or personality of the subject. The rescue of ratings from oblivion has been an important accomplishment.

One of the features of efforts to measure character during the last ten years has been the continued faith that important aspects might be amenable to pencil and paper tests. If ratings are excluded, a count of published studies shows more attention given to this approach than to all others combined. It is time to ask what this vast effort has accomplished in the way of relatively solid and permanent testing procedures. One milestone achieved, about which there can be no doubt, is the measurement of moral knowledge. The earliest studies began to appear in 1922 and were followed by a regular deluge during the next four years. The appearance of the substantial tests devised by the Character Education Inquiry in 1926[9] practically marked the end of the widespread interest in making tests

[7] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

[8] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in Service and Self-Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929).
H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

[9] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May. Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong. (Chicago: The Religious Education Association. Monograph No. 1, 1927.)

for this specialized area of the field. Further refinements by the Inquiry of these measures of moral knowledge and their relation to other measures of character have been reported this year.[10] A second specialized center of sustained effort and progress has been in the measurement of occupational preferences. Here the work of Strong[11] and Cowdery[12] promises to be of permanent worth in the field of vocational guidance. The series of studies by Thurstone[13] are directed to what is probably the next most important and difficult of testing problems—the equality of the units of measurement. Also worthy of commendation for priority of publication or relative finish of achievement are studies of Hart[14] and Watson[15] on attitudes, of Ream[16] and Manry[17] inferring interest from information of Mathews[18] on emotional stability, and of Otis[19] on suggestibility. Beyond these references, it is difficult to point to things accomplished. Since much of the author's own work has been a part of this effort to adapt pencil and paper testing to the measurement of character, he will be pardoned for the judgment that the net result has been small. His belief that important aspects of character will yield to this approach has not been diminished, but the evidence to support it is so far not available. Many factors have contributed to this result. A striking feature of the literature is the endless fertility of ingenious suggestions which no one, not even their sponsors, has followed up. There

[10] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

[11] E. K. Strong, "An Interest Test for Personnel Managers," *The Journal of Personnel Research*, V (1926), 194-203. (An early and representative study.)

[12] K. M. Cowdery, "Measurement of Professional Attitudes," *The Journal of Personnel Research*, V (1926), 131-141. (An early and representative study.)

[13] L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1928), 529-554. (An early and representative study.)

[14] H. Hart, Progress Report on Tests of Social Attitudes and Interests. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1928, II, 4.

[15] G. B. Watson, The Measurement of Fairmindedness. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 176, 1925.

[16] M. J. Ream, "A Social Relations Test," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIII (1922), 7-16.

[17] J. C. Manry, World Citizenship. University of Iowa Studies in Character, 1927, I, No. 1.

[18] E. A. Mathews, "Study of Emotional Stability in Children," *The Journal of Delinquency*, III (1923), 1-40.

[19] M. A. Otis, A Study of Suggestibility in Children. Archives of Psychology, No. 70, 1924.

has been an undue preoccupation with measuring attitudes towards this or opinions about that as if the deed could be accomplished forthwith. While a score of methods of measuring attitudes are available, no one has attempted to determine the comparative reliability or validity of any of them. Essentially all of the proposed tests depend in too large a part on either the innocence or sincerity of the subjects to whom they are given. With rare exceptions, no one has determined the extent to which extraneous factors vitiate the responses. Much in extenuation of this situation might be set down, but the author prefers to let the indictment stand.

The measurement of character in terms of conduct seemed from the beginning of the testing movement to be the most important and the most difficult aspect of the problem. The literature here has been for the most part substantial and there has been a distinct tendency for investigators to build on the earlier work of others. Of special merit were the pioneer studies of Voelker[20] and Cady[21] on trustworthiness or deception, the study of Morgan and Hull on persistence,[22] and Marston's study of extraversion-introversion.[23] Yet with these forward steps available, the problem still seemed impossibly difficult. The outstanding achievements appeared in 1928 and 1929 with the publication of *Studies in Deceit* and *Studies in Service and Self-Control* by Hartshorne and May.[24] Their third volume, *Studies in the Organization of Character*, reporting the interrelations of these measures of conduct with moral knowledge and reputation, has appeared this year.[25] Since it is not our purpose here to de-

[20] P. F. Voelker, The Function of Ideals and Attitudes in Social Education. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 112, 1921.

[21] V. M. Cady, The Estimation of Juvenile Incorrigibility. *The Journal of Delinquency*, Monograph, No. 2, 1923.

[22] J. J. B. Morgan and H. L. Hull, "The Measurement of Persistence," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, X (1926), 180-187.

[23] L. R. Marston, The Emotions of Young Children. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1925, III, No. 3.

[24] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in Deceit* (NewYork: The Macmillan Company, 1928).

H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in Service and Self-Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929).

[25] H. Hartshorne and M. A. May, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

scribe the detailed techniques involved, much less the findings of any study, only the important contributions of these volumes to the methodology of measuring character will be mentioned. Their first victory consisted in arranging a series of natural and yet controlled situations to which the subjects make natural and yet directed responses, the nature of which are automatically recorded. The test situations and responses, accordingly, are very close to the actual living process. In the case of deception, the natural situations are a series of examinations; yet these are so controlled that on one occasion deception is possible while on another it is not. In the case of coöperation the situations are natural but so arranged that work done for the class or for other groups is of a uniform type and automatically recorded. The development of these principles of approach and their realization in actual testing practice should be most important in stimulating extensions into other areas of conduct. The second victory of Hartshorne and May has been in the conscious use of the sampling theory of test construction. Instead of regarding a particular bit of conduct as a definitive test of a wide area of conduct tendencies, each particular bit of deceptive or coöperative conduct is regarded as a sample. This basic assumption leads at once to the testing of as large a sample as possible, to different concepts of reliability and validity, and to a theoretical framework which squares with the facts of the case.

A fourth center of interest of importance for the measurement of character may be labelled controlled observation. It attempts to approach much closer to the living process than do the tests of Hartshorne and May. Instead of creating uniform situations and modes of response according to a predetermined plan, this method selects for intensive observation such situation-response complexes already in process as may be of interest. The situation may or may not be rather well controlled but the center of

interest falls on an accurate record of the behavior which is left quite free. For the most part this approach does not give measurement in the true sense but rather classifications and countings of success or failure, of positive or negative response, and the like. In their most recent bibliography May and Hartshorne have noted eleven studies employing this method. A noteworthy example is the work of Marston,[26] who in his study of introversion-extraversion observed the behavior of children in a variety of controlled situations. A study by Thomas,[27] although rather far removed from character measurement, is unique for its translation of such observational data into measures of amount. It is significant that much of the best research on preschool children employs controlled observation since it points to the building of a trained personnel whose interest in the near future will undoubtedly be turned to the study of character. The students of juvenile delinquency are applying this general method to their problems with necessary modifications, since both the situations and the conducts in which they are interested are beyond control. While only rudimentary measurement is involved, no discussion of accomplishments in the measurement of character would be complete without mention of two studies, one by Healy and Bronner[28] and the other by Glueck and Glueck[29] on the after-careers of delinquents. Here the ultimate test of successful or unsuccessful adjustment to society is applied.

In summary, it may be said that the accomplishments of the last four years in methods of measuring character are five in number. First, the rescue of rating devices as useful instruments of measurement with attendant improvements in the methods of collecting such data and a clearer recognition of their function. Second, the measurement of moral

[26] L. R. Marston, The Emotions of Young Children. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, III, No. 3, 1925.

[27] D. S. Thomas, Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Child Development Monograph, No. 1, 1929.

[28] W. Healy and A. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1926).

[29] S. Glueck and E. T. Glueck, *Five Hundred Criminal Careers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), p. 365.

knowledge. Third, a large number of ingenious suggestions, most of which need further study, for the application of paper and pencil testing to the measurement of special aspects of character. Fourth, measurement in terms of conduct especially of honesty, service, self-control, and inhibition. Fifth, development and refinement of the method of controlled observation which promises to be important in the future.

FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in the Nature of Character. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Studies in Deceit (Volume I), by HUGH HARTSHORNE and MARK A. MAY, 1928, 414+306 pages.

Studies in Service and Self-Control (Volume II), by HUGH HARTSHORNE, MARK A. MAY, and JULIUS B. MALLER, 1929, 559 pages.

Studies in the Organization of Character (Volume III), by HUGH HARTSHORNE, MARK A. MAY, and FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH, 1930, 503 pages.

The five-year program of the Character Education Inquiry sponsored by Teachers College, Columbia University, and financed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, has come to a close and the report of the findings and educational implications made by the directors of the Inquiry is now available in these three volumes entitled *Studies in the Nature of Character.* Without burdening the reader with the intricate details of the findings of the comprehensive measurement program which form the basis of the Inquiry, it would seem to the reviewer that the study has led to three significant conclusions of educational implication. The first of these is the doctrine of specificity which opposes the concept of general traits or ideals in favor of a large number of specific habits learned in relation to specific situations. While this doctrine is nothing new in the general fields of education and psychology, it is strange, as the writers point out, that this theory has been rarely recognized in the field of character training. One of the major conclusions of the Inquiry is to the effect that "honest and deceptive tendencies represent not general traits in our action guided by general ideals, but specific habits learned in relation to specific situations which have made the one or the other mode of response successful." Similarly, "service tendencies, even more than honest tendencies, are specific in character."

The second important outcome of the study is that while there is a general going-togetherness, there are no *specific* relations between moral knowledge and conduct. The third very interesting and significant outcome of this investigation points to the fact that "character needs to be socially conceived, perhaps as a quality of *group functioning* rather than as an entity possessed by the isolated individual." In other words, the normal unit for character education is the class or group, not the indi-

vidual. "It can hardly be expected that most children can be taught to be responsive to social ideals unsupported by group code and morale."

Many interesting relationships seem to appear between character on the one hand and various biological and sociological factors on the other. For example, in general, older children are more persistent than younger children. Sex does not seem to be a factor in deception, while on the other hand girls seem to be superior to boys in service and self-control. Intelligence is a significant factor in scoring high on honesty tests. General physical condition and health of the individual seems to have no relation to character. Children whose parents are engaged in professional and more preferred occupations rate higher in honesty scales than do those whose parents are among the more unfortunate and unskilled labor occupational classifications. The general home environment of a child is very significant in determining such character traits as honesty, coöperation, and the like. We are reminded that parents are the most significant factor in this environment when we read that "the worst offenders come from homes that might be best characterized as exhibiting bad parental example, parental discord, unsocial attitudes towards children, etc." Nationality and religion seem to be determiners to some extent in the matter of conduct. For example, it was found that children of English and Scandinavian parents were frequently the most honest, coöperative, and charitable, whereas children of Italian and Irish parents usually proved to be the least honest in tests administered. Also differences were found among the three major religious bodies—Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

It is necessary in this review merely to mention the very careful and scientific approach in the comprehensive testing program of the Inquiry. To bring out in relief the findings of some eighty character-education tests that have been constructed and administered is uncalled for. These results are clearly stated in logical order in the three volumes under review. In one of the concluding chapters of Volume III, the authors have set up a practicable program of measurement of total character. This program, as outlined, should prove of real value to those interested in measurement of character, though it will prove too comprehensive in nature for general use in schools. Suffice it to say here that the majority of the many tests constructed for the Inquiry can be grouped into tests of moral knowledge, attitude, deception, coöperation, inhibition, persistence, honesty, service, reputation, and consistency. A significant conclusion reached by the directors of the Inquiry regarding any testing program of character is to the effect that it certainly cannot be measured adequately by any single test, but that "if a large number of samples of conduct, knowledge, attitude, intelligence, and background of social adjustment are taken, and if a general algebraic level of each individual is determined, and, at the same time, if the variability of each individual's scores from his mean is computed, the combination of these two values would indeed yield an index or score of character."

In Volume I the authors have pointed out the significance of class-

room experience and friendship as perhaps the dominant causes of both honesty and deception. A second group of factors associated with honesty they found to be intelligent responses to suggestion and emotional stability. The home and the general and economic social background, while third in importance, seems to play a very important rôle in determining whether or not a given child will be honest or deceptive in a specific situation. In their study of service (coöperation and charitable behavior) the directors of the Inquiry found that more than half of all the children in the three representative communities coöperating in the study, would share a little with others, whereas about one third would serve in hard work which would involve doing more for their class than for themselves. General background, represented by stability, nationality, and religious affiliations of parents, seem to be the outstanding causes of helpful behavior. Next comes mutual friendship of children of the same classroom, favorable school adjustments, and finally the home. In their study of self-control, "persistence seems to be chiefly a matter of interest in either the activity or its net results, while inhibition represents a balance of such interests when the continuance of the activity conflicts with some intangible concern for its abandonment." The secret of self-controlled performance lies in specific experiences. In short, the average child, as represented by those used in the testing program, is chiefly a moral creature of circumstances. His conduct happens to be good or bad but remains as yet ethically unorganized.

All three volumes are throughout more or less labored with the presentation of statistical treatments, but it must be said in favor of the authors that they have exerted unusual effort in simplifying the presentation of the statistical data and wherever possible segregating it from the general report. They have been consistent in their logical presentation of first, a report of previous studies; second, setting up and describing their own measurement program; third, reporting findings regarding factors related to character; fourth, the presentation of general conclusions and educational implications; and fifth, supplementary inclusion of detailed statistical analysis. The three volumes will prove of inestimable value as a manual and guide to those who wish to carry on any form of research in moral education. For example, among other things indicated, the amount and kind of research that is yet needed at each point in their program to make a comprehensive and complete study of any single phase of the study initiated by the Inquiry is presented. For the general reader, Volume III, *Studies in the Organization of Character,* will be of greatest value. This is particularly true of Part V which presents in less technical language the general conclusion of the entire Character Education Inquiry. The titles of the three chapters in Part V suggest the general nature of these conclusions: Contributions to the Theory and Practice of Character Measurement, Contributions to the Knowledge of Character, and Contributions to the Theory of Character Education.

FRITHIOF C. BORGESON

Character Education, by CHARLES E. and EDITH GAYTON GERMANE. New York: Silver Burdett and Company, 1929. 259+224 pages.

"The primary purpose of this book is to present a theory and practice of character building, that is, of personality enrichment, by means of a program designed to enable the home and the school to coöperate more intelligently and zealously. The fundamental assumption which has motivated and controlled the researches of the authors for the past three years is that any program of character education will succeed only in the degree that parents and teachers coöperate wisely and wholeheartedly."

This paragraph from the preface is an excellent summation. The book is in two parts, the first presenting the results of experimental studies carried on under the authors' direction in the field of character education as part of the educational program in various school grades from the first to the twelfth, the second presenting "a carefully worked out plan of teacher-and-parent coöperation in a child-study program."

Of the many ideas presented in the first part, those dealing with the homeroom and other student organizations as opportunities for character training are likely to be most valuable to teachers and administrators who use this book.

The second part of the book, which is also published in separate book form—"a parents' edition"—will be immensely valuable to teachers as well as parents in considering the problems fundamental in a constructive program for the remedy of individual character defects in children. The authors present the laws of learning, the elements of behaviorism, and other factors pertinent to such a program, rephrasing these more or less technical theories into a form which should be easily comprehended by laymen. This quality, as well as the extensive treatment of the important problems parents have recognized (as revealed by the researches of the authors) will make the book a fruitful source of ideas for discussion in parent-teacher associations.

Some of the experiments are not beyond criticism if analyzed for their scientific value; but the authors concede this point willingly and remedy most of the obvious defects by the application of common sense in the interpretation of results. The book does not pretend to represent the type of research which is being carried on in some of the psychological laboratories, but is rather typical of the kind of character-education experiments which might be attempted in any school district where parents and teachers are willing to coöperate actively for the recognized good of the children.

JOHN CARR DUFF

A Guide to Literature for Character Training. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Fairy Tale, Myth and Legend (Volume 1), by EDWIN D. STARBUCK and FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH, 1929, 389 pages.

Fiction (Volume II), by EDWIN D. STARBUCK and others, 1930, 579 pages.

These two volumes are the first of a series of guides for character training that have been prepared by Starbuck and his collaborators and sponsored jointly by the Institute of Character Research at the University of Iowa and the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City. The authors have attempted to give us lists of literature as indicated by the titles which may be used by the parent and teacher in the character development of the children under their care.

Introductory chapters of both volumes discuss the character values of literature and judging the worth of literature and evaluating the ethical content of the stories, myths, etc. They also present the criteria for measuring and choosing these selections from the available maze of literature, and give suggestions for using the guide.

Volume I represents a list of 466 selections in fairy tales, myths, and legends, and volume II, 663 stories, exclusive of the short story, covering carefully the field of children's literature of which thousands of books had been examined. These lists differ greatly from the usual run of book lists in that the books were most critically chosen according to various dependable methods, and each book listed is annotated as to school grade and range of grades, rank of excellence, and kinds of moral influences exerted by the literature.

Besides the annotated book lists we have in volume I a situations list which classifies the titles of the recommended books and stories under the headings of moral situations to which they apply; also an attitudes index, both features helping greatly in making the book usable in a variety of ways. Volume II has, besides these features, a classification and subject-matter index which is a further aid to the parent or teacher who is in search of books which represent specific types of fiction or which deal with particular subjects.

The authors would not have us use these stories as a lesson but use them as a natural development of the ideas and ideals which are generally accepted by society as components of healthful and spontaneous living.

These volumes are a valuable attempt at helping those adults, both parents and teachers, who are earnestly interested in the development of integrated personalities of those in their charge, and who need just such a segregation and classification of material. May all adults who are responsible for child growth catch the value and use of such a classification of children's literature as is presented here.

There are so few stories really adapted to the earliest years of childhood, and since character development begins in "the cradle," this sug-

gests a very fertile field for further development both for the story-writer of the nursery-school and kindergarten-age levels, and for the guide maker.

GERTRUDE M. BORGESON

Character Through Creative Experience, by WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 270 pages.

Although this book is entitled *Character Through Creative Experience*, it is primarily an excellent restatement of current educational philosophy and psychology. It rests upon the sound assumption that the principles of general education are equally applicable to the development of character.

Following the all too frequent policy of advocates of any educational hobby, the author begins with a caustic criticism of other philosophies of education. Naturally, those that fall under his axe are traditional instruction, education as training, activity analysis, and adult consensus. His own point of view is expressed in almost the same words as that of the many writers on progressive education with which he identifies himself; "Personality is achieved through the conscious, intelligent, and purposive reconstruction of the learner's experience by himself in accordance with self-chosen and worthful ends" (page 13). The author does, however, relinquish the extreme position by asserting, "The school is under the necessity of organizing education in such a way that it will serve as a focal center into which all the experiences of the learner feed—and where they may be built deliberately into the enlarging and ever-changing behavior system of a growing person adapting himself with intelligence and discrimination to his environing world."

Again following the unfortunate habit of educational writers, the author coins somewhat new terminology for Thorndike's laws of learning and transfer of training. He also enlarges Dewey's five steps in the reasoning process to thirteen which he terms "steps of self-learning." He does, however, continually present general but helpful implications of each for character education. For example, in discussing transfer, he asserts that character must be developed through experience; that such experience must be raised to the level of consciousness; and that these experiences shall be real to the learner, representative, problematical, and rich in content.

In discussing personality as the conscious integration of experience, the author dares to enter for two short pages onto the battleground of behavioristic psychology. He takes sharp issue with behaviorism which "disregards consciousness as a meaningless and inconsequential accompaniment of organic behavior" and, enlisting with Herrick rather than Watson, insists that "an education designed for human beings should base its techniques upon those higher capacities of men for intelligent, selective, and purposive behavior rather than upon the mechanical reflexes of rats and guinea pigs" (page 49).

The significant contribution which Dr. Bower makes to the rapidly growing literature in character education is not his restatement of current philosophy and psychology which makes up the major portion of the book, but rather his emphasis upon pragmatic religion as the culminating agency in character education. He ascribes to religion a fourfold function: (1) To bring all of the more or less specialized values of experience into a central vantage point of unity; (2) to spiritualize character through the rearrangement of the hierarchy of desires in which the self-regarding and immediate are subordinated to the universally valid and eternal values; (3) to further the achievement of the good life through focusing attention upon the ideal aspects of experience, and (4) to furnish the motivation for conduct and release energy for worth-while ends. One is inclined to ask, however, Is not this the function of all education, rather than peculiarly that of religion? That the author might agree is indicated in the final chapter in which he states that the technique of selective behavior shall aid in modifying and reconditioning the behavior pattern in such a way as to develop a coherent and effective personality.

The fundamental question which the reader is continually asking is, "Yes, but how?" Perhaps the answer is too much to expect, for who is so bold as to reply in other than the general terms of the author?

FRANCIS J. BROWN

"The Child's Emotions," Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Character Development, February, 1930. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 406 pages.

The third conference of the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education is responsible for this collection of addresses and round-table discussions on that important and so little understood aspect of child life, the emotions. Those responsible for the papers and discussions are specialists in their several fields, people who have done painstaking and careful research both in the general field of the emotions and in the practical field of child life.

The first four papers deal with a general discussion of the emotions from the standpoint of heredity and environment, their development, the theories concerning them, and their expression and repression. The round-table discussions which follow give the results of various experiments which have been carried on—The Physiology of Hunger and Appetite in Relation to the Emotional Life of the Child, Control of Emotion through Relaxation, and other studies of a like nature.

The second five papers have to do with certain aspects of the child's emotional life with reference to social relationship, stressing the effect of the adult on the emotional life of the child; the family's place in his environment; adolescence and its problems; educational ideals and their distortion. Following these, are discussions relative to experience in

the child's emotional life—religion, social idealism, responsbility, family disorganization, creative possibilities; the teacher.

The final papers are directed more specifically to parents, their duties, dilemmas, and their relation to the problems of adjustment. The entire book is charged with sincerity of effort, and brings together a body of material most helpful, challenging, and stimulating to any one interested in building character, particularly as it pertains to the growing child.

BONNIE E. MELLINGER

Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes, by E. K. WICKMAN. New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1928, 247 pages.

In this valuable study, Wickman compared the ratings of 511 teachers and thirty clinicians on fifty problems of child behavior and revealed a decided difference of opinion between these groups regarding the relative seriousness of such problems. The teachers represented thirteen elementary schools in Minnesota, Cleveland, Newark, N. J., New York City, and New York State. The clinicians composed the entire clinical staffs of the Department of Child Guidance of the Public Schools, Newark, N. J., and of two child-guidance clinics, one each in Cleveland and in Philadelphia.

As compared with the mental hygienists, whose criterion was the future adjustment of the pupils, the teachers overemphasized the "attacking" type of behavior and underemphasized the "withdrawing" type. Such "attacking" disorders as sex offenses, stealing, lying, disobedience, and defiance were given very high rank in seriousness, because these prevented the smooth running of the school and frustrated the authority of the teachers, who themselves were under constant pressure to produce "educational" results. The "withdrawing" type of child is agreeable to the teacher, respects her authority, fits in with her teaching purposes and her ethical beliefs. It was but natural, then, that the teachers rated among their least serious problems shyness, sensitiveness, unsocialness, fearfulness, and dreaminess.

In chapter VII may be found graphs which show in vivid form just how the ratings of the mental hygienists differed from those of the school representatives. Of the twelve problems which the teachers placed at the top of their list, only one, cruelty or bullying, was rated among the first twelve in the clinical arrangement. Heterosexual activity, which topped the school list, was reduced to a position about midway in the other list. Sensitiveness and other "withdrawing" disorders which the teachers put low in seriousness were ranked by the clinicians among their topmost. For example, unsocialness was given first place by the clinical workers and fortieth place by the teachers; and shyness, which was consistently rated at the very bottom by all groups of teachers, was regarded by the mental hygienists as of equal importance with stealing.

This investigation should stimulate intensive thought among teachers and lay and school leaders. Educational and parental conferences might well include, in their agenda, discussion on some such question as this: "Which is worse for the child and society, stealing or shyness?"

FRANK ASTOR

Guideposts to Citizenship, by CHARLES EDGAR FINCH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, 278 pages.

One of the chief purposes of this little volume is to provide a series of experiences calling forth such civic attitudes and responses as to cause children to think over carefully the experiences, both direct and vicarious, which they have undergone.

Probably the chief virtue of *Guideposts to Citizenship* is its rich and attractive illustrative material that will clearly hold the attention of school children. In addition to his fortunate selection of illustrative material, the author has also classified the material in an excellent fashion. While chapter headings are rather pointed, for example, Cheerfulness, Self-Control and Citizenship, Fair Play, Safety First, Law of Loyalty, and the like, yet the treatment within each chapter reduces to a minimum any self-consciousness on the part of pupils of acquiring goodness. While there is a direct plan of character building in the volume, yet it is quite indirect as far as its effect upon pupils is concerned.

The book would be of real value during homeroom periods and other informal occasions when teachers can direct the thinking of individuals or groups into channels of good citizenship. It would serve as an excellent text in schools setting definite time aside for a course in citizenship. Exercises that will provoke real thinking on the part of pupils are appended to each chapter. The writer's familiarity with elementary and junior-high-school pupils and their interests has enabled him to present the material in such a way as to be most challenging for the age levels for which it is designed.

F. C. BORGESON

Citizenship Through Education, by CLYDE B. MOORE. New York: American Book Company, 1929, 320 pages.

There are five parts to this book: part 1, The Learners; part 2, The Needs of the Learners; part 3, The Materials of Instruction; part 4, Social Organizations; part 5, Methods of Teaching and Learning.

In places the reading is thought-provoking. At the end of each chapter is listed a number of questions based on the material of the chapter. There are a few debatable theses listed. Selected references are listed at the end of each chapter. These lists are not long but they contain the better materials dealing with the topics in hand. The author has drawn liberally from scientific works. The bibliographies are well worth the price of the book.

In part five the author gives excellent and commonly accepted methods of teaching. The principle of learning through participation is drawn upon frequently.

Character-education methods are treated in a brief manner in the chapter entitled The Measurement of Citizenship. This chapter deals more with suggestions and illustrations for testing citizenship and "character education." Character education is so closely knitted into citizenship education that one would be justified in saying that the whole book in a broad sense deals with character education.

The book would make an excellent text, on a college level, to be used as an outline, if supplemented with sufficient library work of the selected references.

C. M. BENNETT

groups consistently excel the control groups by overwhelming proportions. Randolph Sailer in his study of happiness among young men is discovering some interesting relationships with sex, religion, and vocational adjustment.

Recently established clinics promise to be real forward steps in solving many of our character-development problems. For example, there are the Psycho-Education and Mental-Hygiene Clinic at New York University, under the direction of Professor Donald Snedden and Professor Charles E. Benson; the Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted at New York University, under the direction of Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh; and the Consultation Center, Teachers College, Columbia, which provides the guidance facilities of many experts and will deal with problems of all ages but will, as in the case of the other clinics mentioned, limit itself to relatively few cases which can be followed over a long period of time to secure satisfactory readjustments.

Many of the tests developed by Hartshorne and May in the Character Education Inquiry have been published and are now available for public-school use through the Association Press.

The many character-education conferences that have been held in the last year and are to be held in the current year are evidence of the nation's current concern over the general educational program in the schools. For example, hundreds of educators were turned away from the Character Education Discussion Conference held at New York University last March; the Department of Superintendence set aside one of their meetings last June at Columbus for consideration of character education; the 1932 Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence will be devoted to the problems of character education; yearbooks of other sectional and national educational organizations will also be devoted to the problem of character education; a conference on character education was held last month in Hartford, Connecticut, under the direction of Ruth White Colton, director of the Bureau of Character Education Research, affiliated with the State Board of Education; many local and State courses of study have either recently been completed or are about to appear in the very near future.

As the result of efforts in operation for the past eight years or more the long awaited course of study in character education for the New York City public schools will probably be issued late this year under the title "Character and Citizenship." Dr. Jacob Theobald, principal of P.S. 165, Manhattan, has been given the task of combining and harmonizing the tentative course in character education with that of the civic-education syllabus. He is assisted by District Superintendent Frank J. Arnold, chairman of the Committee on Character Education, and Dr. William A. Kottman, chairman of the Civics Committee, as well as by one other member of each committee.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Significant researches in the field of character education have been completed within the last year or two and several equally important are now under way. Professor Mark A. May is engaged in directing an extensive survey of theological education in the United States and Canada under the auspices of the Conference of Theological Seminaries in coöperation with the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The survey will occupy three years and will be among the most significant of all the recent studies of professional education. In fact, it will be of the same high caliber as are all researches sponsored by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. Among other interesting features the survey will include a functional study of the work of the church and the minister.

Professor Hugh Hartshorne is at present directing a study of religious education in selected communities. In this connection he is investigating the relationship between the educational work of the churches of one community and the social contacts and problems of the children involved. This basic aspect of the work will be supplemented by a series of case studies of notably efficient programs of religious education and a series of case studies of outstanding instances of progressive methods in the leadership of groups.

Professor John N. Washburne, of Syracuse University, has been validating tests of sympathy, stability, objectivity, and impulse-judgment, and in getting age and sex norms in these tests. The research is sponsored by the Social Science Research Council of New York City. The scores in the four tests have been combined into a single character score. An attempt has been made to study the social attitudes of various types of groups with the emphasis of the study upon the social and anti-social trends. The report of his findings will appear in educational literature in the near future.

Professor Edwin D. Starbuck, formerly director of the Institute for Character Research at the University of Iowa, who served as general chairman of the Character Education Discussion Conference conducted by the department of elementary education of New York University last March, has gone to the University of California to continue his research and interest in character education at that institution.

Interesting and significant studies are under way by doctor of philosophy candidates in various educational institutions that relate to the field of character education. Notable among these are those under the direction of Goodwin Watson and others at Teachers College, Columbia University. For example, William Biddle has developed a series of ten lessons for high-school students which reduces the susceptibility of these students in matters of international relations. Experimental

Under the chairmanship of Bertie Backus, the Committee on Character Education for the public schools of Washington, D. C., presented last year a tentative program which recognized character and training as a primary aim of public education. The program advocates indirect moral instruction for the child, but conscious and systematic planning on the part of administrators and teachers. The Washington, D. C., committee has been limited to the work of the normal school program for the normal child. The program as outlined includes a study of the school program under the headings, organization, routine, curricula, extracurricular activities, discipline, rewards, program. To direct the planning and thinking of various groups the Washington, D. C., committee has issued the following bulletins:

1. Principles that should underlie a program for character training in the junior and senior high schools
2. Suggestions for supervisors and heads of departments in planning a character-education program
3. A principal's survey of his school
4. A bibliography for teachers and parent-teacher organizations

Those familiar with the Group-Study Plan as developed by Edward R. Maguire, principal of one of New York City's junior high schools, are aware that, as Maguire puts it, "this technique takes care of its own discipline and lets character grow." Here we have an illustration of classroom reorganization that facilitates the development of leadership, responsibility, and citizenship.

At a recent testimonial dinner of the New York Principals' Association in honor of George J. Ryan on the occasion of his recent reëlection to the presidency of the Board of Education of New York City, Professor Albert B. Meredith, former State Commissioner of Education from Connecticut and newly appointed head of the department of educational administration and supervision at New York University, was principal speaker and was well received and welcomed by New York. In the course of his remarks, President Ryan said that the chief present aim of his administration is character education and that he expected to get a large appropriation for the purpose of establishing behavior clinics.

In November, Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh, of New York University addressed the New York Principals' Association at a dinner meeting on the topic of "Behavior Clinics." This meeting is one of a series in which the New York City public-school people are acquainting themselves and preparing themselves for the best utilization of anticipated behavior clinics to be established in the near future.

"Practical Methods in Character Education" is a recent forty-page pamphlet published by the National Child Welfare Association which reports classroom experience with the "Knighthood of Youth" organization. This pamphlet should serve as a real stimulus to teachers interested in a more or less direct method of character building.

Mrs. Agnes Boysen has in the yast year prepared a thirty-four-page pamphlet entitled "Character Education on a Practical Basis," published by F. E. Compton and Company. The title page carries the subtitle "A Practical Plan for Character Education as Applied and Developed over a Period of Years by the Principal and Teachers in the Lyndale School, Minneapolis, Minnesota." Here we have an illustration of the direct method incorporating a report card to parents with no academic marks but which records only marks in character training. Traits are grouped under the headings of reliability, obedience, industry, self-control, social attitudes, judgment, punctuality, initiative, personal habits (deportment), thrift, and adjustment. The pamphlet may be secured free of charge from F. E. Compton and Company.

In a recent study conducted by a graduate student at New York University, ninety-one organizations and institutions specifically interested in character education are listed. The majority of these social agencies are national in scope.

The Young Citizens League of South Dakota is an excellent illustration of how State departments can foster and organize activities in schools throughout the entire State which are specifically designed for character building and citizenship training. At the present time over 4000 chartered chapters of this organization in the grade schools of South Dakota have a membership of over 75,000 children. Those interested in learning more of the activities of this organization should communicate with D. C. Mills, Executive Secretary of the Young Citizens League, State Department of Education, Pierre, South Dakota.

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV JANUARY, 1931 No. 5

EDITORIAL

"The social scientist will acquire his dignity and his strength when he has worked out his method."—Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion.*

An article in the current number of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY admirably illustrates the fact that the social scientist is about the business of developing his method. To the extent that there is now in the field of educational sociology a lively interest in cause-and-effect relationships, in a desire for control over social phenomena, and in the tools by means of which the data will be uncovered, sociology may be said to have shifted its emphasis from philosophy to science. The shift in emphasis must not be construed as driving philosophy wholly from the scene, for in all science, method is a combination of skills and techniques unified by philosophy.

It is perhaps natural that the early attempts at method in sociology should seek to imitate the methods of the physical sciences. There is no warrant for believing, however, that the laws of the physical world, as we have known them, apply to social data. There is a constancy about the fact H_2O that nowhere inheres in the human behavior with which the sociologist is concerned. The difficulties of method in the social sciences cluster about this very

point; we are dealing, not with something static, but with a rapidly changing dynamic flow of events. Furthermore, every datum in social relationships can, and does, alter under our very hands. The juvenile delinquent or the manic depressive enters into the situation in ways alien to the potentialities of hydrogen and oxygen. The facts of social science are relative, which is a way of saying that they do not exist except as relationships. The present trend taking shape in the physical sciences themselves points to the recognition there of relativity, and there are those among us who are already referring to the period of relentless law and fixity which has characterized scientific findings in the past as "the naïve period of science." It is evident, then, that techniques for dealing with social data must be germane to social life, and when they are developed, they will be useless unless they take account of the essential ways in which social data differ from the data of chemistry and physics. This, of itself, postulates unfamiliar methods and tools peculiar to a special field. The sociologist has launched upon these quests with laudable enthusiasm and be it reported is making headway in his attempts.

The best answer, for instance, to one of the riddles of juvenile delinquency is a sociological finding. We have floundered in generalizations attributing delinquency to racial groups, to "environment as a whole," to the "gang age," and so on until the use of sociological techniques and method, in the capable hands of Clifford Shaw, have yielded the truth that delinquency, whatever its other ramifications, is linked to the area in which it is found. The first firm step in solving the problems of delinquency has been taken.

We have indicated that the data of sociology are alive, flexible, and changing. Nevertheless, human behavior is rooted in some basic things, some constant arrangement of patterns that are capable of scientific scrutiny. If this were not so, we could not be so glib about "human nature" as a recognizable configuration. It is likely that we shall

come to know the dynamics of interaction only by studying them in the processes of movement and fluctuation in any human life.

This will explain, if it needs explaining, the reliance of the sociologist upon case studies of which *The Jack Roller*, recently published by the University of Chicago Press, is a notable example. The scientist must know what happens before he can say why. The case study method is, as yet, the only approach to the story of what happens in complex social situations, conscious as we are of its inaccuracies and its shortcomings, but the use of this tool cannot fail to sharpen it and to improve its reliability. At this stage in advancement, we are enabled through the case study at least to *see* the same facts. The step beyond that to the common consent that is science cannot be taken except by way of these experimental, faltering evolving experiences that constitute the present science of educational sociology.

REVEALED PHILOSOPHIES—A REPLY TO PROFESSOR KILPATRICK[1]

CHARLES C. PETERS

In the October number of this journal, Professor Kilpatrick critically reviewed my *Objectives and Procedures in Civic Education* in an article entitled "Hidden Philosophies." In this excellent article Professor Kilpatrick was not taking the trouble merely to criticize my little book, but was dealing with what he took to be only an extreme statement of the point of view of a whole school of educational theorists and was, in fact, criticizing the fundamental assumptions of that school. It is in this same spirit that I shall reply to his arguments; that is, I shall attempt to set forth the fundamental tenets of a philosophy of education that is not merely my own but that is held by a group of us more or less in common. If space permitted my doing so without forgoing my larger purpose, I could answer the specific criticisms of *Civic Education* in terms of the special function the book was intended to serve and the brevity with which, in view of this special function, it had to pass over fundamental principles.

OUR METAPHYSICAL BASIS

Our group has been repeatedly charged with having no thought-through philosophy of education—with being driven by a frenzied effort to be "scientific" and ending by being "only trivial." This charge has been especially urged by Professor Bode but is also implied in the title of Professor Kilpatrick's article, "Hidden Philosophies," and in his closing sentence: "An author may not see the deeper implications of his thinking."

I cannot speak in this respect for all of my colleagues, but for myself I have always been acutely conscious of the relation of my educational theories to my metaphysics, and

[1] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, IV, 2, p. 59.

have continually attempted to keep the two reconciled. From the days of my senior year in college, when we studied philosophy with Royce's great work on *The World and the Individual* as text, through the later years devoted to the teaching of philosophy in several "colleges," I have been a disciple in the school of absolute idealism represented by Professor Royce. It seems clear to me that the conflict between the school of educational theorists represented by such men as Bobbitt, Charters, Ernest Horn, and the Ruggs, to which I also adhere, and that represented by Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Bode, is fundamentally a conflict between two systems of philosophy. For men may belong by temperament to one or another school of philosophy even though they have never definitely articulated their metaphysics.[2]

The members of the Dewey school are pragmatists, either avowedly or by implication. They stress the fact that the world is in the making. If the reader will compare the stated educational theories of these scholars with the following description of the pragmatist attitude, he will see how completely their educational philosophy harmonizes with that system of metaphysics.

> In our cognitive as well as in our active life we are creative. We *add,* both to the subject and to the predicate part of reality. The world stands really malleable, waiting to receive its final touches at our hands. Like the kingdom of heaven, it suffers human violence willingly. Man *engenders* truths upon it. . . . The import of the difference between pragmatism and rationalism is now in sight throughout its whole extent. The essential contrast is that *for rationalism reality is ready-made and complete from all eternity, while for pragmatism it is still in the making, and awaits part of its complexion from the future.* . . . The rationalist mind, radically taken, is of a doctrinaire and authoritative complexion; the phrase "*must be*" is ever on its lips. The belly-band of its universe must be tight. A radical pragmatist, on the other hand, is a happy-go-lucky anarchistic sort of creature. If he had to live in a tub like Diogenes he wouldn't mind at all if the hoops were loose and the staves let in the sun.[3]

[2] William James, *Pragmatism,* Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907, Lecture I.
[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 256-260.

The educational philosophy of our school squares equally well with the philosophy of absolute idealism. It is not easy to compress into a statement short enough to permit quotation in this article a description of the idealistic point of view, but it is reasonably well set forth in a few lines clipped from a poem by Paul Carus, "A Prologue to Truth."[4]

> Truly, the measure of all things is Man;
> But Man is measured by the One and All.
>
> Man is a microcosm, and he grows
> Unto the stature of full manhood, only
> When to the One and All his soul responds.
> There is a gauge that measures man, a norm
> By which the truth that's in him must be tested.
> 'Tis the eternal in the change of time,
> It is the Law, the Uniformity,
> It is the One in this great All,—'tis God!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Truth changes," sayest thou, and thou art right,
> E'en man himself is changing with his truth.
> Both change! for nothing is at rest
> In this corporeal world of flux. And yet
> Things transient mirror the Etern which always
> Keeps faith unto itself and its own law.

To put the matter in more prosaic terms, *we* do not find the world, as we look about, quite so chaotic, so shifting, and so capricious as the pragmatists tell us that it is. We find that change is fairly likely to take the form of evolution rather than of sudden breaks; that law obtains, certainly in the physical world and probably also in the social world; that advancement comes, in our industrial processes and in our social institutions, not by some strokes of magic but gradually and by steady pulls towards ends that we have envisaged. "The bellyband of our universe is," we confess, somewhat "tight." This does not imply in the least that our world is fixed at a certain status or that we should wish to maintain it in its *status quo*. But it does imply that we must work for a better state within a

[4] Paul Carus, *Truth on Trial*, Open Court Publishing Company, 1911, pages 1-2.

world that is rational, and that in this pull for a higher order we can get sense of direction from a systematic study of the order in which we live.

FORECASTING

What has just been said puts in proper perspective the charge that has been so often hurled at us—that our techniques of curriculum construction tend merely to fix society in its present imperfect state—that *it is impossible for science to do anything else than merely describe what is.* It is certainly unfair to say that the members of our school have sought merely a scientific description of what now *is* and have set this up as a picture of what ought to be. We have all been interested in trends. Harold Rugg has concerned himself with what pioneer writers have done as a criterion for values; Bobbitt has had his respondents make job analyses of citizenship and of other functions when these functions are performed at their best; Washburne studied the persistence of references in reading through a long period of time; my own blue prints of social efficiency have always turned on how the "better" differ from the "worse."[5] But we have tried to keep our feet on the ground in studying these trends. Instead of merely projecting into the future our own evaluations, shaped by casual observations and fortuitous social contacts (for all philosophies rest upon observation, casual or systematic), we have tried to hold ourselves to reality by controlled inductive processes. Our procedure has not been unlike that of the mathematician when he fits curves to observed data. He systematically studies the data already present for the apparent law of their trend. Upon these given data he fits a curve that seems best to describe the trend. Then he extrapolates beyond his observed points. Any mathematician will tell us that extrapolation is a dangerous process, and the more so to the extent to which one goes far beyond his last observed point, but if one must

[5] See *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, revised edition, pages 158-162.

predict at all it is certainly safer to do it in the systematic manner in which the mathematician works than in the capricious way represented by the aspirations of the philosopher.

It is true that our techniques for isolating trends as they relate to educational program-making are pathetically crude at present. The existence of a science in this respect is at least ninety-five per cent aspiration and not more than five per cent realization. But to develop such techniques for isolating trends as the basis for educational program-making is the very heart of our problem, and some of us spend not only our days but the waking hours of the night alertly courting hunches that may lead to the refinement of such techniques—a few of which hunches prove promising and many foolish.

Any disciple in the school of metaphysics to which we belong must perforce, if he is to follow out the implications of his philosophy, do just as we have been attempting to do—stand aside and observe the ongoing of life, try to catch the logic of its development towards the realization of its fundamental purposes, and then throw himself into the creative effort to attain and to develop these inherent purposes.[6] If he has the scientific temper he will merely bring to the aid of his observations and reflections those techniques for systematizing observation, for holding in check the momentum of his personal equation, and for preventing generalizations from overshooting the mark that jointly we call the scientific method.

RECURRENCE OF PAST SITUATIONS

But, in spite of all this philosophizing about trends with a certain logic in them, *do* the situations of the past recur in the future in such forms that education could prepare "preadjustments" for them? Professor Kilpatrick raises this question, and goes on to ask:

[6] See *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, revised edition, pages 159-160. For an effort at a technique of predicting, though in a little different application, *see* chapter XX of this book.

Or it may be objected that "preadjustment" is not the right term or concept to use? Considering life as we know it, are "preadjustments" the way of meeting it? Do we not rather need an intelligent grappling with events as they come? Could any aggregate of such "preadjustments" (contrived by somebody else's prechoice and predecision) without intelligent readaptation enable one to grapple with life's succession of difficulties?

And he replies, quite truly, "If we consider the *total* content of the stream, no one cross section ever exactly repeats a preceding. In very literalness each successive total content of experience is novel."

Not only do we agree with Professor Kilpatrick in this statement and the others he makes on this same point, but we hold that he does not go nearly far enough. Not only do *total* contents never recur in exactly the same way but neither do *details*, however simple. Even so apparently homogeneous an act as striking the letter *a* on a typewriter is always an individual act—different each time from what it was before. For the act fits into a different background by reason of differences in the temperature of the room, or surrounding noises, or the context in which the letter occurs, or by reason of the motive for writing it, or at least by reason of the fact that time has elapsed and the person performing the act has grown and changed. There must be some adaptation, some transfer of training, in the application of every bit of training one has occasion to use, however simple or however complex.

In what sense, then, can one be equipped with preadjustments for meeting the problems of life if these are always novel? The answer is that they are not *wholly* novel. The "makings" of an effective response have occurred in previous responses. I agree so fully with Professor Kilpatrick's exposition of this matter (pages 64 and 65 of his article) that there is no need for my illustrating it. Except that he does not do sufficient justice to the possibility of the recurrence of synthesizing techniques as elements. To carry further his illustration, not only can one draw upon his elementary abilities to walk and to

recognize streets and motor-car movements as elements in avoiding an on-coming car, but he can also use analogies from the past as to what the motorist is likely to do, what types of avoiding response have proved safest in somewhat similar situations, what consideration of the motorist's rights the pedestrian's ideals have set him for observing, etc. All these elementary tools and their combination into total responses the subject has practised in somewhat analogous situations in the past. When confronted with the present crisis they come flooding in upon him as resources. In fact these resources come to him in greater abundance than he can use; he must choose among them.

This choice is the very essence of his selfhood. To be sure, it is largely a matter of chance—of trial and error—in such a case as Professor Kilpatrick uses in his illustration—avoiding an on-coming automobile. But in many cases it is a choice made after due deliberation. In making this choice to meet the novel element in a situation one takes his own risks, and the outcome is some addition to reality; the person has created a new element in his character and in the configuration of the universe. But the thing to notice is that *no education is possible for the meeting of this novel element.* We are no better off if we depend upon training through "spontaneity" than if we depend upon "blue prints." The novel must be met in the trial-and-error spirit. No amount of "resourcefulness" accruing from living in a rich environment, no amount of experience in "grappling with one's own problems," no self-confidence coming from experience in independent acting, no habits of initiative resulting from opportunities for leadership could be in any sense a preparation for it. For if these are applicable, they are applicable as acquired techniques that we as "blue printers" could have isolated in our consciousness and the growth of which we could have intentionally stimulated; they would be tools accruing from previous experiences, not novel responses to a novel situation.

All, then, that any education can do to equip a pupil to meet the problems of life is to see to it that he comes to possess, through preliminary practice with analogous situations, many resources which he may bring to a focus around his own choice in reacting upon the necessarily novel situations of the future. It is these resources that I cover by the term "preadjustments." I am under no illusion about their flexibility or about the fact that they always involve a creative element. But if we have done our part as teachers the creative element will be relatively small. The educand will have at his command all the resources that civilization has accumulated so that he will not be forced to waste his strength creating (on a trial-and-error basis) what merely duplicates previous creations but may plunge forward effectively into genuinely new conquests. The proportion drawn from the past, both in respect to tool elements and to techniques for their synthesis, is so large in comparison with the adaptations that must be made that it seems to me worth while to take advantage of the connotation of foresight that the term "preadjustments" involves.

INDOCTRINATION

But that *we* as teachers assume some responsibility for what these preadjustments shall be is the pet aversion of our critics. That involves *indoctrination*. Our only defense is the claim that *there can be no education without indoctrination*. Any implication to the contrary rests upon educational mysticism. In order to explain and defend this rather radical thesis we must make a hasty review of some basic facts about the nature of learning and of teaching.

To be trained involves the possession of those resources, mentioned above, upon which one draws as hypotheses in the presence of a situation calling for action. To be *well* trained involves possession of resources as many-sided as the problems are varied that one will be called upon to

meet, together with the conditioning factors that make for the facile recall of these and for their effective adaptation to the changing situations. Where does one get these resources? Partly by a trial-and-error process on the motor level and partly by a trial-and-error process on the mental level. More concretely put, one learns to practise kindness to others in part by mingling with others and finding the greatest net satisfaction from practising kindness to them; or one's necessarily meager experience in practising kindness of particular kinds to persons in his physical environment may be extended by hearing accounts of deeds of kindness to other people and in other situations in which he now lives bodily. In this realm of imagination he is living vicariously. And to the factors in this larger environment constructed in his imagination he is adjusting himself, and thus preparing responses that are likely to return to him as resources, just as if he made the responses in a motor way in his physical environment. This same thing is true if the ideational experience takes the form of deliberation (of thinking) rather than of following a narrative. Here one traces out one hypothesis after another, following out their expected consequences just as one might follow a train of real events, only here the tracing goes on in the realm of ideas. If others are with one matching ideas, they may direct attention to hypotheses and their implications of which he would not have thought, or they may open his mental eyes to obstacles to other hypotheses which would have escaped him alone. All learning invariably takes this form of motor or mental trial and error in search for adjustments that best meet the situation. All teaching takes the form of helping one to discover and trace out hypotheses he would not have found so quickly alone, or of calling his attention more quickly to the inadequacies in his hypotheses than he would have found them alone; that is, so to *condition* the environment as to foreshorten the process of trial and error.

A child, then, is indoctrinated in every moment of his learning, for with each bit of action, motor or mental, he seems to find that a certain way of meeting this type of situation is the effective (satisfying) way. He is, thus, set for meeting that type of situation the same way a second time. And that holds just as truly for the practice of certain techniques of leadership, or resourcefulness, or other "creative" activities as it does for finding that a pry is a good device for lifting a heavy stone. One cannot have an experience without forming from it a conviction, a point of view, a tendency to act and to value in a certain way. One gets, thus, indoctrinated even if he reacts alone in his physical environment. But, lest you say that is stretching the meaning of the term, we shall let that pass. Certainly every time one talks with his chums on the street he is getting indoctrinated, for the impingement of their ideas on his somewhat affects the balance of his convictions and evaluations. To talk, therefore, about keeping a child free from indoctrination is absurd. The only question can be: Who shall be the teachers to indoctrinate him?

There is a strange (but excusable) notion among our critics to the effect that to indoctrinate a child means to "put something over on him"—something false and malicious. That is far from the truth. The teacher who is engaged in a proper indoctrination is merely attempting truly to describe the world. The child is likely to see but a fragment of life; he finds what he thinks are effective ways of doing things, but they may be effective only because his little world is an unbalanced sampling of the whole; they may be such as will break down in "the great society." The teacher merely tries to make the pupil's world a normal sampling of the whole—a true "society in miniature."

And what, pray, can a teacher do who refrains from indoctrination? She could not arrange the playground, nor select the composition of her social groups, nor place about the premises books describing Japanese life, nor do anything else that might in any way bring it about that

pupils would confront an environment (whether physical, social, mental) at all different from that which they would have met at home. For such enriched environment, set up in such a way as to reveal a wider range of life than the accidental one, would indoctrinate the pupils. A teacher resolved to do no indoctrinating could be only a janitor—to stay around and see that no one gets hurt and no one spoils the grass.

Our critics seem to think that if only we would let our pupils alone and not indoctrinate them they would grow up fresh and open-minded and show us the way to a better society. If we refrain from doing anything whatever about a child's provincialism, will he grow up free from provincialism, with equal love for all the social groups and nations of the world? If only we as teachers do not indoctrinate him with conservatism, will he come out open-minded, loving prophets, always ready to change the conventions of society? Not that I ever noticed. The most provincial and conservative people we can find are those most let alone by teachers, those who did their learning from the members of their clan and from their own instinctive promptings. Compare with these those persons whom a wise teacher managed—staging for them opportunities for diversified social contacts, having them hear about all sorts of people and all sorts of points of view, bringing to their attention the fact that every question is likely to have two sides, inspiring them by example and by story-telling with admiration for open-mindedness and progressivism and hatred for bigotry and fear, helping them to grow into techniques of self-criticism and of constructive leadership, never imposing convictions upon them by an *ipse dixit* but always matching ideas with them in a frank and honest search for truth—always with an eye to having realized in them the spirit and the habits of growth (indoctrinating them, that is, with these attitudes and techniques of open-mindedness and creativeness). What odds will you give me if I stand ready to bet that

these indoctrinated pupils will be more likely to create for us a better social order than will those who are let alone?

By this time the reader will surely have become convinced that there cannot after all be any great difference between our school of educational thought and that of Professor Kilpatrick. We have a philosophy back of our educational theories which is not "hidden" nor jumbled; we are concerned to remake the future, not merely to fix the *status quo;* we recognize that the outcomes of all learning must be capable of adaptation in very flexible ways, not the mere antics of a jumping jack; we greatly value creativeness and plan to pay the price for achieving it among the desiderated abilities for which we work; we recognize the only basis for learning to be the self-activity of the pupil. All these things are also planks in Professor Kilpatrick's platform. But the two schools differ in the placement of stress. *They* stress the activity of the child, the need for his spontaneity, the fear lest adults dwarf his personality by an authoritative imposition of their own *mores*. *We,* while also caring for these same things, place the stress on telic efforts to have the pupil face in the process of his living a truly representative sample of life so that he may advance towards the future with habits and techniques for meeting the problems of life which there is reason to believe will prove adequate to the strains that will be placed upon them.

THE TECHNIQUE OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

THOMAS O. BURGESS

A survey of research in the field of educational sociology shows that the methods of attack, the techniques of research are almost as numerous and varied as are the problems investigated. Further analysis shows, however, that there is much overlapping of the methods used. It is the purpose of this article to present a critical summary of the techniques of research employed.

The technique of research used in the field of educational sociology may be thought of as coming under two headings: methods of getting materials and methods of handling them. The former may be divided into five distinct types; namely, (1) document; (2) observation and visitation; (3) experimentation; (4) consensus or collective judgment; and (5) questionnaire. The latter presents four types; namely, (a) description; (b) analysis; (c) comparison; and (d) synthesis.

The document method shows that the source material[1] collected by this technique may lend itself to four different methods of handling. Research using documentary source materials may be treated separately by (a) description, (b) analysis, (c) comparison, or (d) synthesis of the source materials. In addition to this, the document method may also embody any combination of these four methods of handling.

In like manner, source materials collected by the other methods listed may be treated in a manner similar to that mentioned for the "document." Also various combinations of methods of getting materials may be made with one or more of the methods of handling.

Each of these five techniques (methods of getting ma-

[1] Source materials are collected and used in an attempt to reconstruct the past or to understand present problems, situations, and institutions.

terials) is made up of one or more subtechniques and the latter in turn vary with the phase of the field of educational sociology in which the research is conducted. For example, a study of the types of technique of research used by individuals or committees in curriculum construction would come under the document method,[2] for that type of study would of necessity have to be made from published reports. The experimental method, as a further example, embodies three ways of getting materials: classroom experimentation, by which data may be collected concerning such a problem as the relative merits of the socialized recitation versus the ordinary type of classroom recitation; laboratory experimentation, by which source materials may be gathered pertaining to such a study as teacher coöperation in the administration of a high school, using the entire school or just a single classroom as the laboratory; and test construction, that is the compilation of data relative to pupil performance resulting in the construction of a social efficiency or other test. As pointed out for methods of getting materials, methods of handling materials may in like manner be subdivided into subheadings for each technique.

METHODS OF GETTING MATERIALS

In compiling a critical summary of the technique of research employed in the field of educational sociology, the writer selected some three hundred varieties of method and combinations of method from the published reports of studies falling in this field. From this set of carefully selected sample studies, the five types of technique discussed below were arbitrarily determined. No special significance attends the order in which they are placed or the number of divisions made. The writer is fully cognizant of the fact that there is much overlapping of the types of technique as they are here presented. In addition to presenting

[2] The selection of facts and other items from records, published reports, and other printed or written sources.

the representative methods employed and bibliographical references to sample studies, an attempt is made to criticize the method of each type and to point out its limitation. A discussion of techniques follows.

I

Technique: Document (the selection of facts and other items from records, published reports, and other printed or written sources).

Example: Brigham, Carl C., *A Study of American Intelligence,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923.

Criticism of method: Bits of research coming under this heading are usually status studies. Marked contributions have been made and are being made by using this method. It must be remembered that the value of the contribution based upon this method of getting materials is in direct proportion to the authenticity of the sources used. The method has this advantage, however: It attempts to procure its elements from sources which have withstood the test of one or more revisions and scrutinizings.

Limitation of method: Since the technique confines itself to set sources for its materials, it may preclude the possibility of including any new items relevant to the study.

II

Technique: Observation and visitation (the securing[8] of data by means of personal observation and visitation).

Example: Alltucker, Margaret M., "Is the Pedagogically Accelerated Student a Misfit in the Senior High School?" *School Review,* 32: 193-202, March, 1924.

Criticism of method: In the hands of trained workers, data collected by the visitation and observation method are very high in their accuracy and pertinency. Prior to carrying out a bit of research by this method the workers usually have their plan of attack fairly well outlined and know just what data they desire. If the research is to embody the use of tests and measures and is in this instance also carried out by trained workers, the data thus obtained are quite objective and accurate providing the tests used are conducive to objective scoring.

Limitation of method: The term "observation" itself suggests the possibility of the data being somewhat unsuitable due to the subjective element which would creep in. Even with expert observers, personal bias may enter and skew the results of the investigation. Tests and measures are usually far from perfect and do not always measure what they purport to.

[8] The collection of data by personal observation and visitation may involve actual measurement, usually objective, or it may be that the particular information desired may be derived from original records. For example, if one desired to obtain the total educational expenditures of a year for a specific purpose and one examined the records of the school in order to ascertain this information, the procedure would be properly described as collection of data by personal observation.

III

Technique: Experimentation (the securing[4] of data by means of experimentation).

Example: Sackett, S. F., "An Experiment in High School Democracy," *Educational Review,* 67:262-65, May, 1924.

Criticism of method: Of the various methods listed in this study pertaining to the technique of research employed in the field of educational sociology, the experimental method as to utility perhaps ranks first. Educational sociology is interested in new and better ways of fitting an individual into and also improving his environment. The most rapid way to learn the best additional methods of doing this is to set up the conditions desired and through experimentation learn the virtues of one method as compared to one or more other methods.

Limitation of method: Any experiment of this type wherever conducted is artificial. As soon as conditions are controlled and measured or otherwise handled, the research becomes a laboratory experiment instead of one in an actual life situation (and must be interpreted as such).

IV

Technique: Consensus or collective judgment (the consensus or collective judgment of a number of specialists in a given field).

Example: Mitchel, Claude, "Pupils' Standards of Judging Citizenship," *School Review,* 33:382-386, May, 1925.

Criticism and limitation of method: This method presents a great economy of time in carrying out an investigation. In many respects "armchair" analyses are almost an essential forerunner to any objective bit of experimentation. There is danger, however, of experts giving snap judgments in respect to the problem under investigation. It is generally accepted that the use of expert opinion, even when all the facts are available, is merely an approximation. Furthermore, the value of expert opinion is in direct ratio to the familiarity of the expert with all the conditions involved.

V

Technique: Questionnaire (the questionnaire[5] used for the selection of facts and other source material items).

[4] Usually the purpose of experimentation in the field of educational sociology is to determine the effect of the operation of certain factors upon each other. For example, if one sets up an experiment for the purpose of comparing two methods of student government, his purpose is to determine the relative effect of the operation of the two methods of administration specified. Two types of school instruction may also be compared by experimentation to determine the relative effect of the operation of the two methods of instruction specified. In the later case, usually two successive measures are required—the first being for the purpose of determining present status or status under normal conditions, and the second for determination at the end of the experimental period.

[5] This technique includes the securing of data by means of formal questionnaires, or by means of correspondence, or even by means of a blank to be filled out by the members of an audience.

Example: Laird, Donald A., "The Careers of the College Student," *Pedagogical Seminary,* 30:347-358, December, 1923.

Criticism of method: The questionnaire is a very adequate tool to use when masses of material of great proportions or methods of analysis of great laboriousness are involved, for it shortens labor without encountering serious danger of error in analysis. The questionnaire is not satisfactory in yielding more than a preliminary list and is recommended for use only in extreme cases.

The compiled results of a questionnaire, unless a return of approximately 100 per cent of the sampling is secured, are not reliable. Questionnaires are usually answered only by those who are interested in the problem and in this way the results present a biased viewpoint. Answers to questionnaires are often indefinite and ambiguous.

Limitation of method: The written questionnaire is intrinsically difficult to fill out; the questions may not be clearly understood by the one who answers; the same misunderstanding may occur when the sender interprets the answer; the sampling may be poor; questionnaires are often answered by people who do not give exact facts; and, at the present time the method is used so much that people to whom the questionnaire is sent feel resentment when called upon to fill out the blank.

METHODS OF HANDLING MATERIALS

As stated above, the technique of research employed in the field of educational sociology may be thought of as coming under two headings: methods of getting materials and methods of handling them. It is the purpose of the discussion which is to follow to treat the topic of "methods of handling" the collected data, in a manner similar to that employed for the "method of getting."

I

Technique: Description (the giving[6] of an account of the parts of a problem).

Example: Johnson, Franklin W., "The Educational Activities of the Young Men's Christian Association in New York City," *Teachers College Record,* 25:125-133, March, 1924.

Criticism of method: The descriptive method is a very adequate means of reporting a bit of research, particularly when masses of source materials of great proportions are involved, for it crystallizes the whole into a series of summary statements. In addition to this, these summary statements lend themselves to being accompanied by conclusions which greatly enhance the worth of a study.

[6] This method embodies the act of furnishing a rational explanation of the parts of a complex whole. It may also include an interpretation and elucidation of the items being considered.

Limitation of method: In order to secure the best results, the technique of description must be employed only by those well versed in the field of educational sociology in order to present the findings with the proper connotations. Even in the hands of experts and trained workers biased judgments may tend to present the findings in an unscientific manner.

The descriptive method omits to a great extent the presentation of the data in their original form. This deprives the reader of drawing any other conclusions than those set forth.

II

Technique: Analysis (the separating[7] of a problem into its parts).

Example: Davis, C. O., "The Training and Experience of the Teachers in the High School Accredited by the North Central Association," *School Review*, 30:335-54, May, 1922.

Criticism of method: The problems which come within the scope of educational sociology are all so complex in their nature that it is almost impossible to cope with them without first making a thorough analysis of each. Because of this the technique of analysis may be considered as the leading utilitarian technique of the four classified in this study.

Unless in the hands of experts, bits of research data treated by analysis may be carried out in a perfunctory and incomplete manner. Even when this condition is met, the subjective element which enters into the majority of analyses which cannot be carried out by objective means results in only an approximation.

Limitation of method: It often happens that an analysis results merely in a philosophizing—a theorizing relative to what is believed to be the conclusions which should be drawn from the integral parts of a problem which have been severed for the purpose of study.

III

Technique: Comparison (the examining[8] of two or more problems with reference to points of likeness and unlikeness).

Example: Holley, C. E., *The Relationship between Persistence in School and Home Conditions*, Fifteenth Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1916, pages 39-86.

[7] The term "analysis" as used in this monograph does not refer to mere mechanical separation. Analysis, in its broader sense, is the reduction of a compound or organism to its elementary constituent forms or substances. In educational sociology, however, analysis may be defined as the mental separation of qualities, or of parts according to function. Analysis is made for the sake of a new synthesis. Further, the technique of analysis may be conveniently classified into (a) logical and (b) statistical.

[8] This method may also embrace the examining (of two or more items within a problem) with reference to likeness or unlikeness; placed together, mentally, so as to perceive similarity or dissimilarity of relations; or to note or call attention to the relative resemblance or difference.

Criticism of method: Historically, the technique of comparison was one of the first methods of handling data. Ancient history tells us how kings sent out runners to learn the strength of the opposing enemy in respect to numbers and this number compared with his own strength measured numerically, etc. The technique of comparison is not difficult to apply because of the simplicity of its operation. This is especially true when data which have been treated statistically are presented for comparison. Data are often unreliable[9] (for comparative purposes) both absolutely and relatively.

Limitation of method: The terms "comparison" and "subjective" are most synonymous even in the hands of experts called upon to detect likeness and unlikeness with reference to two or more problems. In other words, the factor of personal bias must be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings where the technique of comparison has been applied.

IV

Technique: Synthesis (the putting together[10] of two or more elements into a new form).

Example: Bobbitt, Franklin, Curriculum Making in Los Angeles. Supplementary Educational Monograph, No. 20, Department of Education, University of Chicago, June, 1922.

Criticism of method: The greater the number of elements available for synthesis the greater the number of new forms which may be created. In other words the technique of synthesis approaches a limitless utility as the number of elements to be synthesized increases.

Limitation of method: The method is subject to the errors or peculiarities of individual judgment. The person making the synthesis has a tendency to point out what he thinks should be the final product instead of pointing out what really is the final product resulting from the synthesis.

[9] In this connection one point should be noted, however, that educational data collected from the larger cities are most reliable because they usually have the most thoroughly equipped accounting and statistical staff supervised by experts.

[10] Synthesis, as used in this discussion, does not mean a mere putting together mechanically. We analyze in order that we may classify; but all classification is synthesis. What is commonly called abstraction is only a form of analysis; and abstraction is preliminary to generalization, which, in turn, is synthetic. In short the purpose of synthesis is to summarize the findings into a single meaningful statement.

FORERUNNERS OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY

M. C. ELMER

The trend that sociologists have taken, especially during the last seventy-five years, is so familiar that it is not necessary to mention its particular emphasis. In fact, so much consideration has been given to a small group of students of social phenomena, that it is felt by some that to step outside of that charmed circle is lèse majesté.

I am going to call attention to a line of sociological development, which is more definitely the forerunner of the sociology of 1930, than the remarkable contributions made, especially in America, since 1875. I do not claim that the point of view, and the methodology of today are more important than that of the period through which we have just passed, but they are different. And since sociology is no longer confined to the activities of a small group of men, whose interests center them around one set of concepts, we may be permitted to consider the contributions of men who have not been labeled, classified, and filed.

Our undue emphasis and repetition of certain names and the special contribution of a small group of social philosophizers has at times left the impression that sociological interest and thinking was limited to the men about whom the contributions of each period are focalized. Likewise, there have been many individuals whose chief contribution was in some recognized field, but whose apparently secondary interest was in an undeveloped field and hence frequently was lost for a considerable period. Because of the recent trends in the development of sociology I am going to call attention to some contributions which are in line with much of our present-day sociology.

The particularly outstanding emphasis at the present time is the analysis of social phenomena by means of objective data. There have been significant attempts along

this line ever since the 16th century. Some of the work done was so similar to that of modern sociologists that with the change of a few terms it might readily be taken for the work of some one of our contemporaries. The collection of statistical data has been carried on in some form from times as early as we have any records, but the attempt to interpret group activities and their interrelationship by means of such data is of comparatively recent date.

One of the earliest attempts to interpret group activities in objective terms was the *Cosmographia,* which was published between 1536 and 1544. This was an effort to explain the varying activities of different peoples on the basis of history, state organization, church relations, laws, customs, and manners. This extensive work was done by Sebastian Muenster[1] (1489-1552), a Franciscan, but at the time of this work a Protestant professor at Heidelberg and Basle. The work in its approach was not so fundamentally different from present-day regional sociology. He lacked, of course, the aid of modern psychology in his interpretation. As a matter of fact, the irregular progress along any line is due to the need of supplementary data and development in related fields. When any interpretation has used up all the supporting data, the theory begins to lose its force.

In 1562, there appeared another work which is of significance to sociologists. This was by Francesco Sansovino (1521-1585). It dealt with the laws and customs of the leading European and Mediterranean countries from the viewpoint of their relation of laws and customs to the activities of the people. This was decidedly more in line with our present-day cultural approach to the study of society, than the social philosophies of the 19th century we usually cite, chiefly because they used the term sociology. Just as we have waves of interest at the present time, so we find them at earlier periods. The work of Muenster and Sansovino was followed by many interesting and valu-

[1]*See* August Meitzen, *History of Theory, and Technique of Statistics,* 1891.

able statistical works, but they did not bear any particular similarity to our present attempts to study social phenomena.

In 1577, there appeared *Les Six Livres de la République* by Jean Bodin. These were summarized and appeared in 1615, without citation, in writings of Montchrétien. Bodin contended that a knowledge of facts obtained by enumeration should give a basis for the control of vagabonds, loafers, and robbers, provide for adjustment of grievance of the poor, substitute facts for rumors, appease complaints, and suppress all occasion for riot. Bodin was beginning to sound a new note. As Hankins has said, "Bodin was a definite symptom of the passing of the Middle Ages."

In 1660 at the University of Helmstedt, Hermann Conring (1606-1681), a recognized leader in medicine, philosophy, history, and law, introduced a series of lectures on *Universitätswissenschaft*. In these he dealt with the so-called noteworthy peculiarities of the state, and the forces within the state (*Staatsmerkwürdigkeiten*). Conring did not collect his data, but used data of Bolero and J. A. de Thou. Conring demanded more than mere description and factual data. He attempted to find the causal connection.[2] While Conring does not play a significant rôle as a statistician, the field in which he is usually considered as a forerunner of modern sociology was important. His line of approach was copied and followed extensively throughout the 17th century, and became a phase of the work of the so-called Kameralisten.[3]

Another early contribution to present-day sociology must be credited to John Graunt (1620-1674), a dry-goods merchant of London. In 1662, he published a work entitled "Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of

[2] *See* V. John, *Geschicte der Statistick*, Part 1, page 52.

[3] E. G., Thomasius of Halle and Otto of Utrecht. Also followed in the lectures of Oldenburger (Geneva), 1668, Herz (Giessen), Bose, Sagittarius, Schubart (Jena), and Beckmann, 1673 (Frankfort-on-the-Oder). *See* Meitzen, *History of Theory, and Technique* of *Statistics*, page 22.

Mortality, with reference to the government, religion, trade, growth, aim, diseases, etc., of the city of London." Graunt's chief contribution was that the seemingly unimportant matter of birth and death rate merited the closest scrutiny by governmental authorities. Graunt was likewise an early contributor to the phase of sociology known today as human ecology. He attempted to show for example, that there was some relationship between the frequency of suicides and the section of the country, seasons, occupations, and business conditions. From a study of death records, he concluded that death rates were fairly constant, and that the population of a country could be estimated from a study of the death rates. The present refined methods, used in the study of demography, are developments of principles presented by John Graunt.

In 1687-1691, Caspar Neuman collected notes on 5,869 deaths in Breslau, in order to prove that it was superstitious to ascribe any particular significance to the seventh and ninth year in the expectation of life. Edmund Halley, the astronomer, made a further study of these data, and worked out his "Estimate of the Degrees of Mortality of Mankind." Halley's mortality tables, which have now been refined so that life insurance is today based on scientific principles, was a further step in John Graunt's principles of demography.

Probably the most definite tendency in the sociology of 1930 is the attempt to measure social processes, and to analyze society in definite terms and measurable and comparative units. The trend has been away from the social philosophers who helped sociology to become established as a university discipline. Today we are struggling in our research, and in our teaching with the same type of problem William Petty, a physicist and physician (1623-1685) tried to solve. While his *Political Arithmetick* was largely a discourse dealing with the statistics of the extent and value of the holdings of Great Britain and her neighbors, Petty was a pioneer in the field and one of the

first to insist upon an exact terminology. Petty like the modern sociologist was continually confronted by the need of an exact terminology whenever he attempted to measure social phenomena statistically. He criticized the use of terms such as *larger, much larger, many, more, less,* and similar terms, and attempted to eliminate individual opinion and individual bias and establish the use of *objective standards.* Today much of the work done by sociologists and much of our teaching in sociology is based on the work of Petty more directly than on the work of the sociologists of the 19th and early 20th century.

Basing his work on the authority of Conring, Graunt, Petty, and their co-workers, John Peter Süssmilch (1707-1767), a military chaplain, attempted to apply objective standards to the study of *Reflections on the Divine Order in the Changes of Humanity as Indicated by Births, Deaths, and Propagation.* (Betrachtungen über die Göttliche Ordnung in der Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortpflanzung desselben erwiesen). While he did not succeed in statistically establishing the "divine order," he did succeed in attracting attention to the value of *quantitative data in establishing principles involving social change,* and with very little modification in his approach, he could be mistaken for a sociologist in the United States of America in 1930. He was likewise a forerunner of the social-welfare worker. Much of his work was an attempt to prove that by properly adjusting our lives and manner of living, the death rate might be reduced and the average duration of life increased. Süssmilch is to a large extent the 18th-century representative of our present group of students of population problems.

The middle of the 18th century marked a period when the present approach to the study of sociology *almost* blossomed forth, but later the emphasis was turned to pure statistical theory instead and for a time became so barren of life that even supporters thereof felt that there

was no practical value in its development. However, Gottfried Achenwall (1719-1772), is probably the outstanding man in this period, of a close approach to modern objective methods of studying social condition and activities. Like Conring, one hundred years earlier, he defined his field of study as the analysis of *Staatsmerkwürdigkeiten*. That is, the aggregate of what is remarkable about a state. He held that the structure, characteristics, and functioning of a state could be analyzed and the data classified for study. With undue emphasis upon the mathematical side of the work of Achenwall, statisticians began to believe they could foretell the trend of events by means of their objective studies. Europe was in a rather unstable period, and the supporting fields of economics, psychology, and history were on a less scientific basis than is the case today. As a result, discredit was brought upon their efforts, and the sociological interpretation based upon objective data played a continually lessening rôle during the next fifty to seventy-five years. The old teaching died out with the teachers and by the beginning of the 19th century it was doubted whether statistics would ever have any scientific value.

It is interesting to note, that just about the time that Comte was beginning to sound a note that would dominate the song of sociologists for the next seventy-five years, there appeared another, whose work would become significant when Comte's work was largely completed. Between 1821-1833, M. de Guerry de Chantneuf completed a remarkable study which he called "Statistique morale de la France." At the time this appeared there were some by whom its significance was recognized. Concerning it, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, wrote in 1834, "It bowls down at once all the ninepins with which the late statists had been amusing themselves, and sets up again many of the old notions which from their very antiquity were out of vogue." In other words he revived with fresh contribution the principles which, Muenster, Sansovino, Bodin,

Graunt, Petty, Süssmilch, and Achenwall had been approaching the study of society. Guerry de Chantneuf took particular phases of life concerning which erroneous ideas were afloat, and made careful studies of the data available. In his analysis of crime, suicides, illegitimacy, and similar phenomena, he was so far in advance of most sociologists who followed him that it has been only within the last twenty years that we have made specific investigations and regional studies and surveys along the lines he proposed. He lacked an *understanding and interested audience.*

Within the past ten years there have been many studies of the distribution of crime, of suicides, and of illegitimacy, as affected by age, sex, occupation, social status, and spatial relationship. Most of these studies have come to the same conclusions reached by the extensive studies of M. de Guerry de Chantneuf,[4] although his works are quite generally unknown, since he is not recorded as a sociologist, but as Director of Affaires Criminelles, in the French Ministry of Justice.

Need I mention Quetelet? He has long been recognized by sociologists for having contributed much to the use made of statistics. In 1835, Quetelet confirmed the view, that constant factors and conditions are determinants in the study of social phenomena, as presented in the essay on the moral statistics of France by M. de Guerry de Chantneuf, in 1834.[5] Quetelet called attention to man's activities, which may in turn be determined statistically if studied in relation to environment. Further, that these environmental conditions may be modified, with a consequent modification in the acts. He rather definitely established the principle of social responsibility.

I have attempted to call attention as briefly as possible

[4] It is interesting to note that the few references to de Chantneuf speak of him rather familiarly as Guerry but do not enlighten us to any great extent. In another paper I expect to present some of his interesting maps and charts on the distribution of crime and suicides in France from 1821-1835.

[5] *See* August Meitzen, *Geshichte, Theorie, und Technik der Statistik*, Berlin, 1886.

to some of the forerunners of the present approach to the study of sociology. Due to the lack of the supporting data of history, economics, biology, and psychology, the analyses did not reach the degree of reliability now possible. There appeared an era of social philosophy which flourished almost up to the present time. Today our treatment of social phenomena is more nearly in line with the men I have mentioned than the equally able men we usually cite as the founders of sociology.

HOW THE NATION MAY BE TRAINED IN SOCIAL THINKING BY HISTORY TEACHERS: A NEW TECHNIQUE FOR INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE REASONING

LOUIS W. RAPEER

I. NEED OF A METHOD TO DEVELOP THINKING ABILITY

Social imitation accounts for the methods used by American teachers. Teachers grow up in schools; and they teach as they are taught. In most instances, any given method or device of teaching comes by direct descent from very remote ancestors in some darker age. The methods of teaching history have been variations of "backing the book," reading aloud to the teacher or reading silently and later reporting. Frequently history is celebrated as the dryest subject of the program of studies; and any one who has sat through many history recitations in elementary school, high school, or college, will be ready to agree with Alice that the best use of some texts is to "dry the wet company about the pool of tears." Certainly the methods and texts derived by direct and unconscious imitation fail largely to help teachers attain any reasonable goals for the teaching of history.

But by far the greatest hindrance to success in teaching history in such a way as to make children social minded and able to think socially is probably our lack of knowledge of how we think, when we think, and how we can guide our own reasoning or that of others. Psychologists have provided us with no accurate and adequate outline of the typical thought process that people use unconsciously in solving the ordinary problems of life; and educators have invented no technique for training ourselves and others to reason. Certainly all methods developed in this direction in the past have been of doubtful value, as, for ex-

ample, the "inductive-deductive" lesson plans that were not long ago the vogue and the "Herbartian five steps" which preceded them.

In the past, individuals met and solved great problems for themselves and humanity. They met problems which we cannot well meet but a study of which will simplify our complex civilization and show how we, too, can meet our problems. If the past is not merely the dead past it is an instrument of education and can give knowledge, appreciations, and skills which can come only from the study of history. Among these skills is the ability to think socially; the ability to do collective thinking in a class or group; and the ability to use the past in solving our own life problems, individual and group. This skill is not a mere vague "culture" but a way of responding to a problematic situation. As Powys says, "culture is what we have left after we have forgotten all we have learned as information." This habit and skill in social thinking lasts long after information has vanished from the mind, if it has once been thoroughly formed. The chief reason for the failure of the thinking ability of the nation to measure up to the complexity of the requirements of modern civilization is the bare fact that we have not known how to think and so have not trained our youth to think. We have taught the apprehension and comprehension of topics, not the solving of genuine problems. This fact holds good not alone for history but for all subjects.

Yet in the past twenty years, research has fortunately uncovered the steps in the typical act of thinking; and this discovery of how we think has led directly to the invention of a technique for training ourselves and others to think—a "real logic." Dewey, Rignano, and others got close to these two discoveries in psychology and pedagogy, but not enough to make possible the experimental elaboration of a technique of training. But Dewey's final statement of his entire philosophy in his recent volume entitled *The Quest for Certainty* magnifies such a technique as the most

needed for the modern world—the application to the social sciences of the experimental methods of research which have been developed, apart from logic and philosophy, by the natural scientists.

This new technique of thinking reveals the method of the natural sciences that will save the social sciences and social life from stagnation and barrenness; it is much the same method used by the child in finding a lost ball and the adult in finding the best house in which to live. It is the method of selective deliberation, in which ideas of how to solve a problem are tested in the mind for merits and demerits and then weighed and judged to eliminate the poorest. It is the use of suppositions, hypotheses, or tentative answers, for solving problems. In ordinary life individuals and groups are entirely unconscious of the way their minds work; and they therefore suffer impaired efficiency in solving the problems of life. A great corporation or federal board or legislature may simply mull over a problem and fail to solve it correctly. Now, by this discovery, we can guide thinking far more surely, as conscious art.

II. THE GENERAL TECHNIQUE DISPLAYED

The five stages, or steps of this typical thinking process are as follows:

1. *Problem:* Recognize and scrutinize the problem and narrow it down to its precise meaning. If the trouble is in the carburetor of the car see just what there needs fixing. If there is great overproduction of cotton and wheat in the nation and consequently low prices, determine as precisely as possible (e.g., the Federal Farm Board) just what this difficulty is in all its bearings, domestic and foreign.

2. *Ideas*: Get all the suggestions, hypotheses, or tentative ways of solving the problem before you, even with considerable research—depending upon the character of the problem and the precise nature of the difficulty—and use combinations of the hypotheses found, as "combination

hypotheses," whenever possible. Look at all of the houses that about meet your precise needs, for example, in finding a house to buy or rent, in order that you may chance upon the best one and not overlook it. You can get no better idea or answer in your conclusion than you have put into your list of hypotheses. Of some fifty good ways of solving the farmer's problem mentioned above, a combination of three to six may prove the best working suggestion. If the only hypotheses possible are "to be or not to be," or yes and no, of course no combination hypothesis is possible. The emphasis here is on getting all the suggestions possible under the circumstances.

3. *Testing:* Try out each idea in your mind, testing it for merits and demerits in solving the precise problem as stated, preferably using an outline on paper for serious problems and for many problems while learning. Here the mind performs a "mental experiment" of testing and imaginatively trying out each idea without acting on it or accepting it as the best of the lot. We simply find the full and clear meaning of each suggestion in the light of our problem. Usually we find many more merits and demerits for each tentative solution, idea, or hypothesis, than we had supposed at first were possible. Overlooking merits and demerits ("seeing both sides of the question") and failing to foresee just how a suggestion would work in solving the particular problem may easily lead to failure, by the selection of the wrong hypothesis. In short, the "pros and cons" of each way proposed must be discovered. The meaning of the supposition is made clear.

4. *Judging:* Next, hold an "elimination contest" for the several ideas found; and weigh and judge them by comparison and contrast, two by two—discarding the weaker of the first pair, and then that of the next pair, and so on by eliminative comparisons of pairs down to the last. "Where shall we go for entertainment tonight" is a problem usually having several mutually exclusive ideas (theaters, dances, lectures, visits, etc.), which, after being

tested as to quality or utility, with merits and demerits listed in the mind or outwardly on paper, are to be weighed and eliminated one by one, even though one be a combination of several as first found. The process here is much like that of finding, testing, and choosing a candidate for a position where there are two or more applicants. In outlining a problem-solution, students often find it quite difficult to state just how and why they eliminated certain hypotheses. But clear statements refine judgment; and judgment lies at the heart of reasoning. Judgment is a kind of beauty contest. Selecting by eliminative comparison of pairs is the best way I have found for making this step accurate.

5. *Conclusion:* Here in the fifth step, the final choice of judgment is accepted, to be acted upon as the conclusion of the single act of thinking, or deliberation. This chosen hypothesis becomes the working hypothesis or conclusion. The action may be no more than that of final peace and rest on a belief, that was needed to stop the worry or curiosity of doubt and suspense. It may be as permanent an activity as marrying one of several suitors and slaving for him for a half century. It may be a great invention or a unique plan of business operation or of discovery; or it may be merely your choice of meat at a cafeteria or the pair of shoes for which you have tried on many pairs to select. In history teaching, it may be the conclusion which Washington reached about attacking Stony Point in your own vicarious re-thinking of his problem; or it may be your judgment as to the wisdom of making the attack at that time.

III. THE THINKING TECHNIQUE APPLIED TO HISTORY TEACHING

If our youth are going to learn to think individually they must be guided through these natural steps on the kinds of problems which they are going to solve in life or on the

nearest approach to such problems; and if they are going to learn to do coöperative thinking, in groups or boards or committees, they must have long class training in the process by these five steps. We could make two steps of the first one, as Dewey did, and other changes; but these five as given here seem best after many years of research and experiment on the problem. Dewey described the simple series, or tandem type of solution, not that in which all suggestions are gathered together (abreast) in step 2.

The best experimentation which has so far been done in the application of this thinking technique to history teaching has been by Mr. Russell Colbert of the high school at Washington, Indiana; and we are glad to use here for illustration two of the history problems which he and his class worked out. He says that this method of thinking revealed to him for the first time how he actually thought on his life and school problems; helped him for the first time to recognize thinking when he did it; and aided his students in the same manner in classes, not only in history but in several of the social sciences.

It is in the hope that others may use the technique in solving their own serious life problems and in teaching others how to think in the social sciences and other subjects —and especially in history, the most informational and memory-grinding subject of all—that we here present the discovery and its clear application.

We are not here interested in how well the class outlined and solved the problems by the technique but in the nature and method of the technique itself. What does it do for all thinking; and what does it do for thinking in history, individually and by a class? Comments will be welcomed by both Mr. Colbert and myself. We are seeking other teachers who will apply the technique to other subjects. The first solution following has but two hypotheses, while the second illustrates a problem with several tentative answers.

A. HISTORY PROBLEM WITH BUT TWO HYPOTHESES

I. *Problem:* Were the American commissioners justified or excusable in signing the treaty of Ghent in 1814 when it did not renounce the right of search of American vessels and the impressment of American seamen on the part of the British?

II. *Hypotheses, or tentative answers:* (a) Yes. (b) No. (No other hypotheses were discovered.)

III. *Test of the hypotheses:*

A. Yes, they were justified, or excusable

1. *Advantages, or merits:*
   a) The finances of the U. S. government were in a critical condition in 1814
   b) Practically all of the American naval vessels were blockaded by the British in 1814
   c) The American Army had not been highly successful in the war
   d) The spirit of disunion was rising rapidly in New England
   e) The European wars were practically at an end; consequently the principles of search and impressment would not be a pressing problem
   f) No other merits found
2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
   a) The American principles were right and should have been asserted in the treaty
   b) That the American spirit was still capable of raising armies that could "do things" was shown by the great victory of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, two weeks after the signing of the treaty of Ghent
   c) No other demerits found

B. No, *they were not justified, or excusable*

1. Advantages, or merits:
   a) The American principles with respect to impressment and search were right; and the American commissioners should have insisted upon incorporating them in the treaty
   b) That the Americans were not as "far gone" as some of the historians have indicated is shown by the spirit and ability displayed at New Orleans
   c) No other merits found
2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
   a) The United States Government was having very great difficulty in financing the war
   b) The American Navy was in a state of blockade in 1814
   c) At the close of the year 1814 the American Army had had very ordinary success
   d) The people of New England had not approved the war in the beginning; in 1814 they were threatening disunion

e) The end of the European wars meant that the British could throw more resources into the war against the United States; it also meant that the British would not insist upon the right of search and impressment, since sailors were not so much needed

f) The American people were thoroughly tired of the war and ready for peace on almost any terms

g) *No other demerits found*

C. No other hypotheses were discovered, as stated. Partial justification and excusability seem untenable even when tested. [This part of the technique helps one avoid overlooking good hypotheses.]

IV. *Judgment:* That in 1814 the American people were ready for peace on almost any terms weighs heavily; that government finances were in a deplorable shape, largely because of President Madison's veto of the second bank bill in 1811 adds to the war-burden excuse; that the American Navy, although enjoying a brilliant success at the beginning of the war, had by 1814 been blockaded by the superior British navy, adds to the justification. The accomplishments of the American Army had been highly disappointing during the course of the war; New England was giving half-hearted support to the Government's efforts to prosecute the war; her attitude was in fact becoming daily more menacing. These facts weigh the scales down still more for justification. The end of the European wars meant that Americans would have larger British armies and naval squadrons to contend with. The end of those wars meant also that the matters of search and impressment would fade into the background so far as any practical importance was concerned. The life of the nation was menaced by any failure in securing the treaty.

On the other hand, the Americans had gone to war in defense of their rights; and they were now going out of the war without an explicit guarantee that those rights would be respected in the future. That the American spirit was still capable of "carrying on," at least for a time, against superior British resources was shown at New Orleans. But the essentials of a guarantee were implicit in the treaty as signed; and history shows that they were wise in not forcing the issue.

V. *Conclusion:* After thus weighing all of the evidence, the "pros and cons" and each hypothesis, we have concluded that the American commissioners were justified and excusable in signing the treaty of Ghent in 1814 when it did not explicitly renounce the right of search of American vessels.

Our Comment on the First Solution. Mr. Colbert's class thus worked out the solution of the problem set. The example is one of a yes-no set of ideas that admits of no others. In this particular instance, the supposition

of partial justification was thrown out as impossible, that the commissioners were either justifiable and excusable or not. That subsequent events proved the commissioners were correct and wise need not of course diminish the rigor of the reasoning, although history problems have this general disadvantage where the problems are of this vicarious character and not questions of future action. The reader may ask why the statements "no more hypothesis discovered" and "no more merits or demerits found," were made. These are supports to weak places in human nature. They aid us to avoid jumping at conclusions over the steps of suggestion finding and suggestion testing, so that judgment may have correct data with which to do its weighing and eliminating. These are a part of the technique of training to think so far developed. Supposition is probably the best term to use for hypothesis or suggestion, while the term hypotheses may well be reserved for the conclusion.

In yes-no problems, where the hypotheses are mutually inclusive and exclusive, no others being available, and where the two alternates—like left and right roads to take, or "to be or not to be" (although some persons are spoken of as half dead)—we have a peculiar and desirable modification and extension of the technique. It will be noticed that the merits and demerits of a yes-supposition are the very reverse of the merits and demerits of a no-supposition. When a person or class first works through the merits and demerits of each without knowing this fact, there seem to be two different sets of merits and demerits; but care would soon make these exactly alike and the reverse of the other. Consequently, the merits and demerits of yes cover the merits and demerits of no; and if one gets all of them for yes he needs no others to make a conclusion. Judgment, as a step, is practically eliminated as a weigher of suppositions, since there is but one, and becomes merely a weigher of the relative preponderance of merits and

demerits of yes. The question is, then, whether the merits outweigh the demerits or vice versa.

However, as a matter of training, it is usually best at first to work out all the merits and demerits of both yes and no and then to make a new outline, condensing and stating all of the merits and demerits for yes. New ones will ever be found among those for no, since looking at the reverse supposition helps us to perceive new advantages and disadvantages. For better trained students and adults, the yes-no type may be set down in the condensed form at once, a list of the pros and cons of the proposition. Here the mind seems to be operating with but one supposition; but I believe that we shall find that the mind never so operates in reasoning and always has or gets at least two. If the only idea is, for example, I shall accept this invitation to the party, the possibility of *not* accepting it is actually there in the background and operating in the testing and judging of the complete act of thought.

The second example is more typical, perhaps, in that it has several suppositions. Later on it will be seen that frequently we have a multiplicity of ideas for the solutions of history problems and others and that the testing of each may become very laborious; but there is no short cut to a solution by reasoning in such cases. Resort to chance, dogma, emotional bias, general feel of the situation and opinion are ruled out. Here we transcend ordinary methods of thinking on social questions.

B. HISTORY PROBLEM WITH SEVERAL HYPOTHESES

I. *Problem:* Why was England able to defeat France in the Intercolonial Wars?

II. *Hypotheses or tentative solutions:* (a) More Englishmen were in America at the time than Frenchmen. (b) The English settlers were an entirely different class of people from the French settlers, better fitted to win the wars. (c) The English colonial system was superior to the French system. (d) The balance of power favored England at the time. (e) English leadership was superior to the French. (No other hypotheses discovered, except combinations of the above, probably all.)

III. *Tests of the hypotheses:*

A. There were more Englishmen in America at the time than were Frenchmen

1. Advantages, or merits:
   a) The English-American population at the time was between one and two million; the French-American population was less than 100,000
   b) No other merits found
2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
   a) The French had more Indian allies than did the English, which fact helped, in a degree, to make up for the lack of French people, made the fighting strength far greater
   b) No other demerits found

B. The English settlers were an entirely different class of people from the French, with advantages for defeating the French

1. Advantages or merits:
   a) The English settlers were largely homemakers
   b) The French settlers were largely hunters, traders, and trappers
   c) No other merits found
2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
   a) So far as waging war was concerned, the French-Americans probably had the advantage of knowing the territory over which the fighting was to take place much better than did the English-Americans
   b) No other demerits found

C. The English colonial system was superior to the French system

1. Advantages, or merits:
   a) The English colonial government system taught and trained the people in the principles of self-government
   b) Under the English system, the people had far more freedom and opportunity for initiative
   c) No other merits found
2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
   a) At the particular time, both the English and the French were concerned with "winning the war," not with abstract governmental principles
   b) The French system was more favorable for calling out and maintaining armies than was the English
   c) No other demerits found

D. The balance of power favored England at the time

1. Advantages, or merits:
   a) During the last two of the Intercolonial Wars, Prussia was the ally of England; Prussia was ruled at the time by Frederick the Great, the greatest military leader of his day

b) The states allied with England were, as it turned out, better powers than those allied with France
c) No other merits found

2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
a) It almost bankrupted England to keep this condition in working order and made her really weak
b) France also had powerful allies on the continent of Europe
c) No other demerits found

E. The English leadership was superior to the French

1. Advantages, or merits:
a) During the last and most important of the Intercolonial Wars, the British Government came to be almost altogether in the hands of Pitt, the foreign secretary
b) Pitt was an able man and selected able subordinates
c) France was at the time under the rule of the corrupt Louis XV, whose subordinates were in general less effective
d) No other merits found

2. Disadvantages, or demerits:
a) France had an exceptionally able general, however, in America, in the person of Marquis de Montcalm
b) Perhaps leaders were not as important in such frontier warfare as we sometimes assume
c) No other demerits found

F. No other hypotheses discovered, except combinations, as stated. *See* below.

IV. *Judgment:* There can be no doubt that the superior English-American population played a very important part in the outcome of these struggles and gave a balance. The fact that the English settlers were homemakers also worked in their favor; but the French-Americans knew the territory over which they were fighting better than did the English, and the Indians gave more active assistance to the French than to the English. These were evidently weaker than the other factors combined.

For peace-time pursuits, the English colonial system was superior to that of the French; but during war time the French system was probably the better because it was more centralized. It is true that the balance of power at the time favored England, as it turned out; and this was important. The English leadership in the home government was decidedly superior to that of the French; this gave superior weight to the English force. Consequently, the support given to the American war was more vigorous on the part of the English.

V. *Conclusion:* The English were successful in the Intercolonial Wars mainly because of no one factor but to the following combination of causes: The number and character of their American colonists; the favorable balance of power; and leadership superior to that of the French.

Our Comment on the Second Problem. This solution by the outline-technique also has the advantage of illustrating two types of solutions; those in which but one suggestion can be selected, as in buying a house, and those in which several suggestions can be combined to make a new suggestion stronger than any other. Usually the one or more combinations of suppositions should be listed and tested, as are all others. In this case, Mr. Colbert's class found it better to make the decision as to the combination supposition in the act of judgment, where it was found that each of several suppositions contributed as factors and that the combination theory very clearly dominated the others separately in merit. For practice and training, it is probably best to make each possible combination and always to hunt for a combination before deciding that no more ideas can be found. If a combination appears ("occurs") in the step of judgment it can be set back in the outline and tested and then weighed by judgment with the others.

The combination hypothesis is a valuable discovery that owes itself to this technique, although of course keen thinkers have always found that combinations of ways often solved problems best and that we can very often secure several goods of life in one. The alternatives are not always mutually exclusive. Henry Clay was noted for finding means between extremes and "compromises" that really solved problems. Great business men and inventors use the method clumsily and unconsciously. But here it becomes a conscious technique and a mental habit in the reasoning of the youth in our schools, by explicit training. And teachers will never be able to train people to think until they are able to do so with conscious guidance.

IV. CONCLUSION

These two examples of the technique in history teaching must, for brevity, suffice for many samples; but most teachers can now use the outline for solving their own life prob-

lems and then for class guidance on certain history problems, and thus gradually acquire the method. The writer and Mr. Colbert will be pleased to hear from all who use the method; and any questions, criticisms, or suggested modifications will be welcome. Only a part of history would come under problem technique; and we have been interested here to see how well the subject least problematic in its usual form could be made to help in training our nation to think socially as Dewey and others commend.

A STUDY OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF RURAL AND URBAN CHILDREN

CLAIRETTE P. ARMSTRONG

The usual partisanship aroused by a question bearing on the nature-nurture controversy is evinced whenever a comparison of rural and urban intelligence is broached. Specialists in many fields, more or less contiguous, contribute, some in favor of rural, others in favor of urban intelligence. Emerson, emphasizing the influence of environment, upholds urban intelligence in these terms: "'In the country in long time, for want of good conversation, one's understanding and invention contract a moss on them, like a paling in an orchard.' Cities give us collision. 'Tis said London and New York take the nonsense out of a man. A great part of our education is sympathetic and social. We can ill spare the commanding social benefits of cities."[1] An essay on culture at this early epoch might well envisage the matter thus, but it would not necessarily adequately describe an era of automobiles, airplanes, and radios, all of which have contributed to fostering communication and to lessening both geographical and social distance—in short to scraping the moss off "understanding and invention."

But how different are invention and understanding in children in rural and urban communities? This is the problem under investigation—the difference, if any, in the intelligence of rural and urban children.

To define the terms of this study: By urban is meant a city of the greatest magnitude. As for rural, "The rural sociologists are still trying to discover and define the American 'rural community.' One thinks it is really the 'urban' community—a composite or union of a town with its 'tributary' host of isolated farm households or family groups."[2] The United States Bureau of the Cen-

[1] R. W. Emerson, *The Conduct of Life* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860), pages 287-288.
[2] D. Snedden, *Educational Sociology* (New York: The Century Company, 1924), p. 105.

sus[3] classifies as rural those incorporated or unincorporated villages having fewer than 2500 inhabitants, and in the present study the word "rural" is so interpreted.

From the variety of rural populations, this study selects children in small rural villages of northernmost Westchester County. Rural-village children are studied as distinct from those inhabiting scattered farm lands, who would obviously be different from the standpoint of occupational class, educational opportunity, and probably in other respects. Occupationally, the country villager may resemble the urbanite, except that he may function on a smaller scale. So as to avoid any serious discrepancies of climate, temperature, and so forth, with their resulting influences, groups of rural-village children and urban children not too widely separated geographically are compared.

In order not to be involved in the discussion of the definition of intelligence—what is being tested and what should be tested by psychological tests—"what the tests test" may be accepted as a working hypothesis for immediate purposes. It is conceded that there are a variety of different capacities and abilities, not only verbal but psychomotor, involved in ordinary adequate adaptation to the average environment, and samplings of various capacities are compared. Such a comparison of abilities arouses scientific curiosity and interest, not only because a knowledge of types of population is necessary before specific needs and disabilities can be adjusted, but also because it is desirable to know whether the city or the country is the best place to bring up children. When it is considered that 60 per cent of our population is educated in schools of the open country and the small village,[4] the importance of this kind of knowledge is evident.

In the United States, the psychologist generally finds

[3] Letter from Bureau of the Census to writer, April 9, 1929.

[4] R. L. Finney, *A Brief History of the American Public School* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 307.

the intellectual balance in favor of the urban child, though in a few localities the reverse has been noted. The conclusions of Pressey and Thomas[5] are fairly typical: That country children in Indiana rate about a year and a half in mental age below city children; that the usual type of intelligence test does not give adequate measure of the ability of country children; that performance tests and material more relevant to their environment are needed; and that with verbal tests involving constant use of pencil, a total measure of ability in a community where the work is almost wholly manual can hardly be expected.

Pintner[6] sums up his finding of a slight inferiority of the village school to the city school and the greater inferiority of the very rural school by attributing all to the native ability of his groups, composed mostly of native-born Americans.

Educational surveys conducted in various States, for example in Virginia,[7] North Carolina,[8] Kentucky,[9] New York,[10] and Mississippi,[11] quite unanimously rate the rural-school child anywhere from six months to a year and six months behind the urban child in intelligence. O'Shea[12] does mention that "There are, however, small communities that rank higher than the highest community among the cities, whether large or moderate sized."

These surveys generally use as their instrument of measure, applied to children on farms or villages or both indiscriminately, either verbal tests of intelligence or educational tests, any of which may be said to measure capacity

[5] S. L. Pressey and J. B. Thomas, "A Study of Country Children in (1) a Good and (2) a Poor Farming District by means of a Group Scale of Intelligence." *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1919, 2, pp. 282-286.

[6] R. Pintner, "A Mental Survey of the School Population of a Village." *School and Society*, 5, 125, pp. 597-600.

[7] *Virginia Public Schools*, Part II (Yonkers: World Book Co., 1921).

[8] *Public Education in North Carolina* (New York: General Education Board, 1921).

[9] *Public Education in Kentucky* (New York: General Education Board, 1922).

[10] M. E. Haggerty, *Rural School Survey of New York State*, Educational Achievement (Ithaca, New York: Rural Educational Office, Agricultural College, 1922).

[11] M. V. O'Shea, *A State Educational System at Work* (Hattiesburg, Miss.: Bernard B. Jones Fund, 1927), p. 334.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 334.

to succeed in school subjects, or school success. These results show a superior intellectual level of urban children in a limited number of special abilities of a verbal or scholastic nature, with other important abilities unmeasured. It may be that such results are to be envisaged as a boomerang caused by the weakness of educational systems in certain rural districts.

A rural-village group of 115 white boys and girls, born and bred in the Township of Bedford, Northern Westchester County, New York, were examined[13] with psychological tests. The children, for the most part in the Katonah public school, constituted almost all of grades four to eight in the consolidated school which dates from 1907. About that time the present unincorporated village of Katonah, which numbers about 1400 inhabitants,[14] was carefully planned and rebuilt, after the New York City Water Supply Department had purchased the original village and scattered farms to construct reservoirs. The school was enlarged in 1911, and is a roomy, modern building. Some children were included in this group from the consolidated school in Bedford Hills, a smaller town adjacent, and a very few from the two-room school in Bedford Village. These villages might be described as service stations for the surrounding country.

The parents of these children were largely classifiable in the small-business class, or skilled-labor class. They were all American-born, and half of the families had been in this locality or not far distant for at least three generations; some had lived there longer. Of the 23 cases of only two generations American-born, the forbears were all among the so-called " better immigrant "[15] groups, from northern Europe. The ancestors of some of this group came from Bedfordshire, England, about 1640, and set-

[13] By the writer, October 1928.

[14] Rand, McNally Atlas, 1928.

[15] Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 15 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), p. 699.

tled as farmers in the Township of Bedford. Only a few farmers were numbered, however, among the parents of this group.

The urban group of 328 American-born white boys and girls were all of grades four to eight in P. S. 6, Madison Avenue and 85th Street, New York City, a few children in P. S. 166 and 157, also in good neighborhoods. These urban children were so heterogeneous from the point of view of nationality of parents that they were compared not only *en masse* as a total urban group of 328 children, but were subdivided into smaller groups, the 99 children of foreign parentage in one group, the 134 of American parentage in another group. The 95 children of mixed foreign and American parentage and the few whose parentage was unknown were treated separately only for statistical reasons. In the foreign-parentage group, 63 per cent of the parents were known to be of the "better immigrant" quota.

The schools of both rural and urban groups were practically equivalent in educational opportunity and equipment, and the environments were advantageous each in its own way. The children were nonmigratory groups, indigenous to city or country. They were 9 to 14 years of age.

In order to tap a variety of abilities, three scales of psychological tests were administered;[16] the Otis Intermediate Group Test,[17] Form A, for grades 4 to 8, as the test of verbal or abstract intelligence; and two series of performance tests—the Army Individual Performance Scale,[18] consisting of 6 items, and the Army Beta[19] Test also used as an individual test.[20] The scores were transmuted into mental ages according to the norms for the

[16] And scored by the writer.

[17] World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson.

[18] Yoakum and Yerkes, *Army Mental Tests* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), p. 126.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[20] As administered in the laboratory of Dr. F. L. Wells, Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Boston, Mass.

respective tests, and I. Q.'s were computed for each test as a feasible basis for comparison of groups.

Table I gives the number of children examined in the rural and urban groups with each test. During the period of testing, some children were lost track of for various reasons, so not all had all three tests.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ON THE THREE TESTS

Groups	Performance Tests		Verbal Test
	Army Individual Performance Test	Army Beta Test	Otis Test
2 Parents American	134	134	124
2 Parents foreign	99	99	95
1 Parent foreign	95	71	66
Total urban	328	304	285
Rural (2 Parents American)	115	115	115

The above table gives the number of children in each group examined by each test. The group "1 Parent Foreign" contains some children of unknown parentage, and was treated separately only for statistical reasons.

Table II shows the mean I. Q.'s with their difference and its reliability for the rural and urban groups on each test, treating boys and girls together since no reliable sex differences were found on the tests as a whole. The following formulae were used in these computations:

[21] $\text{Av.} = \text{GA} + \text{C}$ (Algebraic)

[22] $\text{C} = \text{sum} \dfrac{\text{FD (Algebraic)}}{\text{N}} \times \text{length of step}$

[23] $\text{Sigma dist.} = \dfrac{\text{sum } \text{FD}^2 - \text{c}^2}{\text{N}} \times \text{length of step}$

[21] H. E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926), p. 51.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[24]Sigma Av.$=\frac{\text{Sigma dist.}}{\sqrt{N}}$

[25]Sigma diff.$=\sqrt{\text{Sigma}^2M_1+\text{Sigma}^2M_2}$

[26]Index of reliability$=\frac{\text{Difference}}{\text{Sigma diff.}}$

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF I. Q.'S OF RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS

ARMY PERFORMANCE TEST

Groups	Mean I. Q.'s	Sigma dist.	Sigma Av.	Difference	Sigma diff.	D / Sigma diff.
2 Parents American	102.5	14.7	1.3	1.2	1.56	.63
2 Parents foreign	100.6	14.3	1.4	3.1	1.97	1.57
1 Parent foreign	103.9	13.1	1.5	.2	2.02	.09
Total urban	102.2	14.2	.8	1.5	1.56	.94
Rural	103.7	14.6	1.4	..	..	..
Army Beta Test						
2 Parents American	108.7	12.3	1.1	.5	1.6	.31
2 Parents foreign	106.8	13.3	1.3	1.3	1.81	.72
1 Parent foreign	109.3	13.1	1.6	1.1	1.96	.57
Total urban	108.2	13.5	.8	..	1.43	.03
Rural	108.2	13.0	1.2	..	..	..
Otis Test						
2 Parents American	103.4	16.9	1.5	2.0	2.16	.91
2 Parents foreign	95.7	15.1	1.5	9.8	2.18	4.46
1 Parent foreign	105.5	21.5	2.6	.1	3.05	.03
Total urban	101.4	18.0	1.1	4.0	1.87	2.15
Rural	105.4	16.5	1.5	..	..	..

This table shows the mean I.Q.'s for the rural and urban groups, and compares them, giving the difference between the I.Q.'s of the groups and the reliability of the difference. The only reliable difference is between the rural and foreign-parentage urban groups on the Otis Test, where the index of reliability is 4.46.

[24]M. E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926), p. 146.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

In reactions to verbal and abstract situations, the rural group shows a slight superiority over the total urban group, but the difference is not statistically reliable. With the type of concrete ability tested by the Army Individual Performance Scale, the difference is still less in favor of the rural group, and it is quite negligible with the objective situations of the Beta Test. In reactions to verbal and abstract situations, the slight superiority of the rural group over the American-parentage urban group, is statistically unreliable, and differences are negligible with the nonlanguage tests.

In verbal and abstract intelligence, the rural group is reliably superior to the foreign-parentage urban group, as shown by the index of reliability, 4.46. A computation of medians shows that that of the rural group, 103.75 per cent, is equaled or exceeded by 27 per cent of the foreign-parentage groups, whose median is 94.8 per cent. The middle 50 per cent of the rural group falls between 93 and 117 per cent, well above that of the foreign-parentage group, whose median is between 85 and 104 per cent. This superiority persists at each age level. The superiority of the rural group with the performance tests is small and unreliable, though also present at each age level, and greater with the Performance than with the Beta Scale.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF FOREIGN AND AMERICAN-PARENTAGE URBAN GROUPS

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN I.Q.'S AND ITS RELIABILITY

Test	Difference	Sigma Difference	Difference / Sigma Difference
Performance	1.92	1.94	.98
Beta	1.82	1.70	1.06
Otis	7.77	2.16	3.57

In reactions to verbal and abstract situations, the American-parentage urban group is reliably superior to the foreign-parentage urban group, as shown by the index of reliability, 3.57. This superiority is also found at each age level. The middle 50 per cent of the American-parentage urban group score between 91 and 116 per cent, well above the foreign-parentage middle 50 per cent of 85 and 104 per cent. With nonlanguage tests, the slight superiority of the American-parentage group is statistically unreliable.

The rural group at least two generations American-born does not differ reliably on two scales of nonlanguage tests from the urban group, heterogeneous as to number of generations American-born, or from the urban group two generations American-born, or from the urban group one generation American-born (foreign-parentage group). However, when the instrument of measurement is a test of verbal or abstract intelligence, one that measures capacity to react to school situations, the rural children are reliably superior to urban children of foreign-born parents, even though not more than 37 per cent are of the inferior-immigrant groups. Similarly, urban children at least two generations American-born are reliably superior in verbal or abstract intelligence to urban children of foreign parentage. The rural group is not reliably superior to the urban American-parentage group in verbal intelligence, or to the urban group as a whole, in verbal intelligence.

A comparison of the occupations of fathers of children in the different groups by the Barr-scale rating of occupations, described as a "hierarchy of the occupations with respect to the relative demands which they make upon intelligence,"[27] gives average ratings so nearly similar as to verify the equivalence of the rural and urban groups from the occupational or economic point of view. Table IV

[27] *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Stanford University, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1925), L. M. Terman, in Volume I, page. 66.

gives these averages for the children for whom the parent's occupation was known.

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS ON BARR SCALE

	Rural	Urban		
		2 Parents American	2 Parents Foreign	Total Urban
Average obtained	10.63	10.81	10.325	10.466
Sigma distribution	2.56	3.07	2.56	3.045
Number of children	114	114	91	287

*Including some of mixed parentage.

This rating of 10-plus compares closely with the Barr-scale rating for a small-town station agent or mechanical repairman in shop or factory, or traveling salesman. It is above Terman's mean rating 7.92 for the general population, which corresponds to the rating for a plasterer, baker, or metal finisher. This is explicable probably by the fact that there chanced to be no children of unskilled laborers in these groups. This average is below Terman's rating of 12.7 for the 346 fathers of gifted children which corresponds to the Barr rating for a stenographer, librarian in a small city, or primary teacher.

Table V shows the median I. Q.'s for the children on the Otis and the Individual Performance Scales in the rural, foreign-parentage urban, and American-parentage urban groups, for each occupational class according to the Taussig[28] five-grade classification, but omitting the fifth grade (unskilled labor) which was unrepresented. Table VI gives the distribution of children, for whom paternal occupations were known, in the four occupational classes.

[28]Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, Vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pages 134-148.

TABLE V

MEDIAN I.Q.'S IN THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES

(According to the Taussig Classification)

	Otis Test			Performance Test		
	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban	
		American Parents	Foreign Parents		American Parents	Foreign Parents
Professional	125	114	105	120	118	103
Business	105	108	102	101	102	105
Skilled labor	101	96	94	104	100	102
Semiskilled labor	100	100	93	90	96	91

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF CASES

	Rural	Urban	
		American	Foreign
Professional	12	11	3
Business	33	36	26
Skilled labor	59	49	53
Semiskilled labor	10	18	9

On the verbal test, the group differentiation is fairly consistent in each of the four occupational classes, with the rural group highest in intelligence, the American-parentage urban group but slightly different, and both groups above the foreign-parentage urban group. With concrete situations, the group differences are not consistent. In some of the occupational classes, the foreign-parentage group is superior to the others. Again the evidence is that differences between these groups are in verbal, not in concrete, objective situations.

Gradations of difference in central tendency between the occupational classes within each group are for the most part in accordance with other research, with verbal situations. That is, the professional group always leads, with the business class second, and the skilled labor and semiskilled labor classes always lower. With concrete situations, occupational class differences are less consistent and less marked. The indications are that there is less differentiation, especially in the foreign-parentage group, between children of different occupational classes in psychomotor ability. However, the semiskilled labor class is always lowest.

Differences in intelligence of rural and urban groups of children may be due to several factors of variability. As pointed out before, one factor of variability may be different interpretations of the meaning of intelligence. The test used to measure intelligence may show a superiority in its special field, which might not be true of other fields of ability.

Another factor of variability is occupational status. A high correlation has been found between parental occupation and intelligence of children. This has been brought out by such studies as those of J. E. Collins,[29] S. L. Pressey and R. Ralston,[30] M. Haggerty and H. B. Nash,[31] and numerous others, all of which report a concentration of professional fathers at the higher ranges of intelligence and of children of unskilled laborers at the lower levels, with a sharp differentiation between occupational groups, when classified in accordance with the Taussig five-grade classification.

Nationality or race affords another factor of variability in group intelligence. This was brought out during the

[29] "The Intelligence of School Children and Paternal Occupation," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1928, XVII, pp. 157-169.

[30] "The Relation of Occupation to Intelligence as it appears in the School Children of a Community," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1919, pp. 368-374.

[31] "Mental Capacity of Children and Paternal Occupation," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, 15, 1924, pp. 559-572.

World War by a vast amount of psychological testing of immigrants, on the basis of which English-speaking, Scandinavian, and Teutonic recruits were rated highest in intelligence, and Slavic and Latin lowest,[32] with superiority of the groups longest resident in the United States.[33] Many students have since corroborated this. However, nations cannot be rated by these findings for, as Porteus and Babcock[34] point out, it is not known how far our immigrant groups are drawn from the average of their race as regards occupational or social position. Another unknown quantity is the frequency of appearance of certain grades and types of ability in each race, although variability is greater with some than with others. Conclusions are, therefore, limited merely to positing that certain southern European races, as they are represented in this country, are inferior in capacities which underlie school proficiency.

Further research corroborates the need for caution in conclusions concerning intelligence levels of certain nationalities. Inferiority while present in one ability may not be present in another. A language difficulty or verbal disability is not tantamount to a manual disability or to inferiority with concrete situations. In comparing rural and urban children, the groups should be equated as to occupational status, nationality, school opportunity, and various types of ability should be tested.

The data from this study lead to the conclusions that rural-village and urban children do not differ in intelligence, either verbal or concrete, if of American parentage, of equivalent occupational class, and of equal school opportunity. Their "understanding and invention" are equally good and the rural village is probably as beneficent a milieu as the urban in which to bring up children.

Children of immigrants are inferior to children of American parentage, whether rural or urban, in a language or

[32] Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, V. 15 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), p. 699.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 704.
[34] *Temperament and Race* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1926), p. 210.

verbal ability undoubtedly necessary for success in many situations inextricably bound up in our civilization. Whether the verbal inferiority is a language difficulty or a verbal defect indigenous to the child or to the environment, it is none the less present and characteristic of many children of foreign parentage in the New York City public school (as well as elsewhere) and is responsible for much scholastic misfit and maladjustment to the school situation, all of which leads to truancy with its attendant evils. Opportunity for training and success in school along concrete or nonverbal lines for this type of child is emphatically necessary.

Evidently the instrument of measurement may be a cause of group differences; that is, groups may differ in one type of ability tested, but not necessarily in another type. Verbal tests are a limited instrument of measurement if nationality or number of generations American-born enter in as a variable, as well as being limited to a lesser extent when there is great disparity of occupational class.

According as groups have a larger representation of children in the highest occupational classes, in so far are they superior in all types of ability to groups lacking in this respect, irrespective of the question of rural or urban environment. It might be expected that occupational classes would have different levels of verbal ability since measurements are usually made by verbal scales of occupational classes arranged in a hierarchy progressing from strictly manual vocations to the strictly verbal. However, tests of concrete abilities corroborate this differentiation to some extent, in that the highest occupational classes are superior in such abilities to the lowest. Superior abilities seem to be concomitant. In the middle grades, occupational class distinctions are less significant compared with psychomotor ability.

If occupation and nationality are not equated, differences found between rural and urban groups may be due to either or both of these factors.

Certain occupations demand certain levels of intelligence, and, conversely, certain levels of intelligence may embark upon a certain range of occupations. This may be more or less controlled by opportunity and environment, though it is always conceded that environment can be effective only within the limits imposed by heredity. To define these limits absolutely is difficult with the normal human being.

The dictum of the sociologist is subscribed to: That characteristic socio-psychological traits have their etiology in selection, isolation, and occupation, with any sampling of populations.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL *may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

THE NEXT STEP IN CRIME PREVENTION

The most recent report of the New York State Crime Commission Sub-Committee on Causes under the research direction of Harry Shulman[1] points the way for the first time to a basic and ultimate program of crime prevention. It indicates that the problem is primarily one of community organization focusing upon the child. In brief, the proposal of the Crime Commission based on an extended series of researches is that the known breeding places of crime in our great cities be used as the points of attack. Criminal careers begin in adolescence. The breeding places of criminals are well known. It is suggested that in these communities neighborhood councils be organized where none exist and that a committee of each of these neighborhood councils be formed for the specific purpose of crime prevention to integrate and coördinate the work of the various preventive and character-forming agencies. No adequate, responsible local agency now exists whose sole purpose it is to prevent crime. Such a committee would have an office which would act as a clearing house for all problem cases and a capable staff for carrying out its work. In this way a program to meet the needs of every child who may become a delinquent is to be developed.

[1] The report is entitled "Crime and the Community." It is an important document which should be in the hands of every person interested in children and in criminology. Copies of the report may be obtained by writing to the New York State Crime Commission, 244 William Street, New York City.

The time is now ripe to take a further step, which is not specifically suggested by the Crime Commission; namely, to organize demonstrations of crime prevention throughout the country paralleling the various health demonstrations which have been promoted to show the community how to control disease. Such demonstrations would need to be called "Citizenship Demonstrations" or some similar name in order not to emphasize the negative aspect of their work, and they would also include continuing researches as to the causes of crime with an emphasis upon experimental methods and with safeguards against falling into meaningless routine in dealing with cases.

Such a five- to ten-year demonstration has been suggested for a local area in New York City in which a great deal of basic data has already been collected on the problems of child behavior.[2] The neighborhood council of the district and the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department are interested in developing such a project and it is hoped that money for the demonstration will be made available.

A Study of a Residential Suburban Community[3]

This is a study in human ecology and community reorganization.

Statistical indices, such as per capita newspaper circulation of metropolitan papers, sex ratios, and age distribution, were calculated and employed in an attempt to demonstrate how the suburban area and the types of suburbs might be delimited. Data on transportation and commutation also show that the suburban community has quite a different relationship to its metropolis than an independent, relatively isolated town. The relationship of the satellite city or industrial suburb to the metropolis is more

[2] This is the Boys' Club Study area.

[3] The following statement with regard to the study of Winnetka, Illinois, has been furnished through the courtesy of Clarence E. Glick who conducted the study. Mr. Glick is now teaching sociology in the University of Hawaii.

impersonal than that of the residential suburb, but this type is nevertheless just as dependent upon the city for its rise and existence. Heavy, standardized industries move to the industrial suburbs on the periphery, but their control or dominance remains at the financial center of the metropolis.

In approaching the study of the natural history of the residential suburb, Winnetka, Illinois, was selected for special scrutiny. Some suburbs are started in open country and lack definite community solidarity and organization in the beginning; they usually attract a heterogeneous population. Historical documents and interviews with old residents reveal that the suburb studied was formerly a well-integrated village community, almost as isolated from the metropolitan life of Chicago as an Iowa town. This, however, did not persist long. Its location on the shores of Lake Michigan and on a main line of the Chicago and North-Western Railway (as known today), seventeen miles from the "loop" of Chicago, destined it for other than a village existence. Historical materials are also employed to describe the migration of "city people" to the village, while quotations from personal interviews and written reminiscences of old residents suggest the motives for migration from the metropolis, the rise of the "commuter class," and the early character of the new "suburb." The facts seem to indicate that if the suburb develops in a well-organized village community along one of the chief lines of transportation to the city, the community will exhibit little disorganization, the movement tending to be a peaceful infiltration by a rather homogeneous group.

The change from a village community to a residential suburb is more than one in name. A real community reorganization is involved. In the first place, changes in ecological organization may be noted. When land values were plotted on a map, business and residential centers were located. Field investigation demonstrated that the residential centers represented the dwelling places of the

people who are regarded as of highest social status within the local community, and who also are prominent in the metropolis. The memberships of groups, such as that of a popularly recognized "exclusive" country club, and those Winnetkans whose names appear in the Social Register of Chicago, were plotted upon maps; these likewise exhibited the existence of the same residential centers within the suburb and indicated that they were more or less segregated districts. This forms a contrast to the intimate, pervasive life of the village community with its almost total lack of residential segregation.

The occupational distribution within the suburb was secured by tabulating and classifying data found in R. L. Polk's 1928 Directory for Winnetka. This graphically presented the fact that the economic base is no longer the local community, but the entire metropolitan area. Winnetka, for instance, with a population of about 10,000 had more than 165 lawyers! The fact that there was, on the one hand, an exceptionally large proportion of the total number employed in the professions and in important metropolitan executive and business positions, and, on the other hand, a large group in domestic and personal service, suggested a further change from old village organization; namely, the rise of rather well-defined social classes. Life histories and intimate family documents were gathered, and these when classified indicated the existence of social classes designated as follows: (1) the élite, (2) the *bourgeoisie* (the social climbers and middle-class residents), (3) the tradespeople (local merchants, those in trades, service industries, etc.), (4) the servants, and (5) the laboring or unskilled population.

Simultaneous with the changes occurring in the ecological and social relations developed modifications in the common institutions within the community. Interviews with officials, the study of documents relating to the municipal government, attendance and observations at "town meetings," and an analysis of voting at elections were sources

and methods employed to discover changes in the political institutions. The nationally known Community House of Winnetka, and the Winnetka Congregational Church, commonly spoken of as the "community church," are natural and easily understood religious institutions in this type of suburb, but are quite foreign, per se, to a village community.

Finally, the study of Winnetka suggested a hypothesis which will require further verification; namely, that each suburb subserves one of a few productive functions (industrial suburbs) or consumptive functions (residential suburbs), and to this extent represents one or a few selected groups within the metropolitan area as the unit. Winnetka has two dominant groups from this point of view with interests which have an important relationship to the life and problems of the metropolis: those interested in "society" with their concern for activities on the "Gold Coast"; and those so-called "socially minded" persons with their participation, financially and personally, in the social work and general social welfare of the city.

Trend of Research at Chicago

The trend of sociological research at the University of Chicago is indicated by the following partial list of completed but unpublished studies made in connection with the research being carried on by the Local Community Research Committee of that institution.[4]

Abbott, Edith. Housing and Population in Chicago.

Bigham, T. C. Chicago Federation of Labor.

Carmichael, Lillian. Street Trades in Relation to Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago.

Channing, Alice. The Illinois Soldiers' Orphans' Home.

Clarke, Helen I. Uniform Areas for City-Wide Agencies.

Conway, Paul. The Apartment House Dweller: A Study of Social Changes in Hyde Park.

[4] The complete list of these studies is to be found as an appendix in T. V. Smith and Leonard D. White, *Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research*, published by the University of Chicago Press. This volume gives an excellent picture of the complete set-up of the extensive research project in social science under way in Chicago.

Cressey, Paul G. The Closed Dance Hall in Chicago.

Davis, Elizabeth. State Institutional Care of Feeble-Minded in Illinois.

Duflot, J. L. A Social Psychological Study of the Failing Student in High School and College.

Dunn, Margaret. Jane Addams as a Political Leader.

Evans, Louis E. Pontiac Reformatory.

Freund, R. Begging in Chicago.

Glick, Clarence Elmer. Winnetka: A Study of a Residential Suburban Community.

Graham, Irene. Negroes in Chicago, 1920; An Analysis of United States Census Data.

Hayner, N. S. The Hotel: The Sociology of Hotel Life.

Hirsh, Elizabeth. The Study of the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys.

Hosford, B. Study of Protestant Orphanages in the Chicago Region.

Ireland, W. R. P. The Study of the Process of Americanization among Polish Young People in a Settlement Neighborhood.

Lieffer, M. H. The Boys' Court of Chicago.

McGill, H. E. Land Values, an Ecological Factor in the Community of South Chicago.

Myers, Earl D. Juvenile Delinquency.

Reckless, W. C. The Natural History of Vice Areas in Chicago.

Scott, Chester. The Study of Juvenile Delinquency and Recreation in a Settlement Neighborhood.

Shaw, Clifford. Juvenile Delinquency.

Stephan, F. F. Public Recreation in Chicago.

Stephan, F. F. Some Social Aspects of the Telephone.

Tibbitts, R. C. Immigrant Groups in Chicago.

Tibbitts, R. C. Social Forces and Trends in Settlement Neighborhoods.

Townsend, A. J. The Germans in Chicago.

Washington Child Research Center

The Washington Child Research Center has moved to new quarters to provide additional space for a second group of children in the laboratory division. The old group of twenty-four children between the ages of two and three and a half years will be continued. The new group will include twenty children from three and a half to five years of age who will have a seven-hour daily program. The physical arrangements of the center will not only provide for the needs of the children, but will give additional opportunity for research so that "all the observation taken of the younger children can be continued with the older children and developmental patterns studied." The staff of the study will remain the same. The new location has the advantage of an attractive playground. The education of parents will continue as an important part of the program.[1]

[1] A statement in regard to the work of the Center is contained in *School Life*, November, 1930.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Aims of Education and Other Essays, by A. N. WHITEHEAD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, 247 pages.

A distinguished English mathematician and philosopher, now professor of philosophy at Harvard, here turns his searching attention to the problems of education. This book of ten republished essays is one which professional students of education will want to consider, as the following germinal views of the author will indicate.

"One main idea runs through the various chapters, and is illustrated in them from many points of view. It can be stated briefly thus: The students are alive, and the purpose of education is to stimulate and guide their self-development."

We need an understanding of the "insistent present." The essence of education is religious in the sense of inculcating the duty of controlling events and reverence for the fullness of the present. There is a rhythm in education, involving the familiar principle of fitting subjects and methods of study to the proper stage of mental development. The two essentials of education are freedom and discipline. The teacher has the double function of eliciting enthusiasm and creating the environment "of a larger knowledge and a firmer purpose." The ideal of a technical education is found in the words of George Bernard Shaw: "It is a commonwealth in which work is play and play is life," involving geometry and poetry as well as turning lathes. The continuing place of the classics in education is dependent on the judicious use of translations in giving an initial sense of the unity and meaning of the selection. Mathematics, if it is to be used in general education, must get rid of its "reconditeness" and submit to selection and adaptation in accord with the current needs for understanding number, quantity, and space, and for handling abstract ideas. The function of the university is to unite young and old in the imaginative consideration of learning. The subject of logic has an indispensable function in that organization of thought known as science. Physical science omits judgments of worth and reality, and confines itself to such ideas as "fact," "object," "time," and "space," and "fields of force." Space and time may be regarded not as absolutes but, in the one case, as relations between objects and, in the other case, as relations between events. This is their "relativity."

There is nothing soft, superficial, or ephemeral about this pedagogy. It judiciously combines the concepts of culture, training, and discipline with those of practicability, development, and freedom.

HERMAN H. HORNE

Types of Philosophy, by WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, xi+462 pages.

Occasionally a book in philosophy is both comprehensive and easily comprehensible. Here is one, written by the Alford professor of philosophy at Harvard, who has to his credit half a dozen other important philosophical works. This is just the kind of book to use with beginning classes in philosophy, as distinguished from psychology, logic, and ethics. It combines in a very happy manner the theoretical with the historical approach to the main philosophical problems. In fact it is practically a large and readable syllabus, indicating informal and personal contacts with students, and containing useful bibliographies.

The author himself is an independent objective idealist of the school of Hegel and Royce. And though he defends his own position stoutly, there is no unfairness or prejudice in stating the positions of the other schools. The plan of treatment is first to give an impartial exposition of the type of philosophy in question and then to examine it thoroughly.

Practically every leading type of contemporary philosophy is included, except that of critical realism. And among the types included are successively: naturalism, scepticism, pragmatism, intuitionism, dualism, idealism in its subjective and objective forms, realism, including neo-realism, mysticism, and eclecticism. The author allows more validity to mysticism than did Professor Royce. The volume concludes with a *confessio fidei*. Among the personal views of the author are the ambiguity of simplicity, the need of beginning with empiricism, the recognition of rationality as inclusive, tentative mysticism, and the union of value and fact. The book is practically ideal for orientation purposes.

HERMAN H. HORNE

Character Through Creative Experience, by W. C. BOWER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 270 pages.

Here is a book that bears strong testimony to the way sociology and its findings concerning human nature and social life are influencing contemporary thinking. It is deserving of attention from all sociologists. Reading it carefully will set many sociological findings in a new light.

Many sociologists will be surprised to find an expert in education who makes basic use of sociological insights in developing a new and constructive theory of education. To be sure such a development has long been due. But to find it really developed and set forth in such a significant volume as this, from the ever creative pen of Professor Bower, is heartening to every student and teacher of sociology. Some of the relations of education and sociology along the fringes have been emphasized by the small group of educational sociologists. But, this

book establishes more fundamental relations. It takes some of the basic positions of sociology and weaves them into a new and creative theory of education.

Personality—in the full scientific meaning that Thomas in his *Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* and other works has assigned to it—becomes the center of attention of educational processes in this theory of Bower. "The primary objective of character education," says Professor Bower, "is the development of a social, ethical, and spiritual type of personality" (page 34). "Personality as here conceived is a more or less stable organization of physical elements, impulses, habits, ideas, ideals, and purposes undergoing continuous change in a dynamic process" (page 259).

"Experience, moreover, is the outgrowth of the adjustment process by which persons, equipped with natural tendencies, respond to the various aspects of their physical and social world" (page 45). Following this clue, Professor Bower concludes that personality "is the result of the process by which persons adjust themselves to their material and social world" (page 259). The relative influence assigned to these social aspects of experience becomes a factor of vital importance to sociologists, as it reveals how fundamentally the insistence of the importance of the social aspects of human nature is seeping into the educational thought of our day. It has been just a little over one hundred years since Comte developed and announced to the scientific world his concept of the *milieu sociale.* It has since so completely been absorbed into the current thinking of the day that Professor Bower uses it without apparently any sense of indebtedness to Comte. But he also gives it a significance that the scientific findings of Comte's day did not make possible. For Professor Bower and his new educational theory the *milieu sociale* assumes a basic and fundamental rôle in the shaping of human personality. "It appears that the impulses to action are the results of man's original nature but the patterns which responses assume are chiefly taken over from the social milieu" (page 44). Thus the social milieu becomes a powerful formative factor in shaping personality. It shapes the behavior patterns. The behavior patterns are developed and shaped in the interactions of the changing cultures of man. Thus the new emphases of the culture aspects of sociology are linked up intimately with the new and emerging insights of educational theory.

Moving forward on these basic positions so closely related to the contributions of sociology to modern thought, Professor Bower advances his new theory of education as "nothing less than the initiation of the young into a creative personal and social experience" (page 13). All the way through the book much emphasis is placed upon these aspects of social experience. The old "individual" of earlier educational theory has totally disappeared and a new socially filiated personality has become the center of educational theory and practice. "Education is a practical process of social control by which society seeks to con-

serve its values and achievements and to recreate them in its young" (page 21). Thus we have an educational theory that takes into account the sociological concept of change. Education is freed from the necessity of inculcating by instruction and training the dead weight of the past. It is left free to choose values from past experience of the race and to initiate youth into these values, in their relations with the present and the future.

MARTIN HAYES BICKHAM

An Introduction to Social Anthropology, by CLARK WISSLER. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, 392 pages.

There are few fields in the study of society more in need of a "gateway" text of general orientation and social application than that of anthropology. Essential as this field is to the understanding of the fundamentals of social organization and of social institutions, it is so buried in masses of descriptive and largely uncorrelated data as to be very nearly a closed book to any but the specialist. On the other hand the generalizations and conclusions of social anthropologists must be used and presented even in introductory courses in general sociology. The avérage teacher knows himself to be a tyro in this field of information and the student is definitely handicapped without an adequate understanding of the descriptive backgrounds.

It is the appreciation of this situation which has moved the author to meet a definite need through the agency of the present text. It has been his aim, he tells us, to present the essential background materials suitable for an introductory course, keeping in mind always the social implications of the study. The aim is worthy and the effort is fruitful but the text still reads, in large part, pretty much like another Smithsonian report. Too much of the romance inherent in the subject is lacking. In his chapters on "Marriage," "The Geographical Method," "The Culture Area Concept," and "Culture Processes," the author comes the nearest to making contributions of fundamental sociological importance.

C. G. DITTMER

Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village, by ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 315 pages.

This is a study of a Mexican village, itself a hybrid product of Indian and Spanish culture, now undergoing new changes as a result of diffusion from the city. Mr. Redfield, in an imposing discussion of methodology, sets himself a number of laboriously defined tasks to be completed in this study of the contemporary life of a community transitional between the "folk" and the "urban." There is a decided break betwen the theoretical preparation of introduction and definition

of terms and the actual achievement of the book, which is an extremely superficial, external description of certain aspects of life in Tepoztlan.

This consists of a discussion of the material culture, a formal, undynamic treatment of the socio-political organization, and a few special studies: of the folk literature, the calendar, the heroes of the people, contact with the city. The careful reader will find many hints which give rise to speculation, but few answers to his speculations. To those, however, who have small knowledge of contemporary Mexico, who have never realized the strength of the Spanish-Indian cultural blend which obtains there, the book offers some good descriptive material which could also be used to advantage in courses in history and geography.

MARGARET MEAD

The Health of the Mind, by J. R. REES. Cambridge, England: Washburn and Thomas, 1929, 266 pages.

This practical book is a digest of some of the recent work in the field of mental hygiene and psychiatry. The author makes no pretensions about its being either all inclusive or exhaustive. It is, in fact, the kind of a book that will make an appeal to social workers, school psychologists, and laymen for whom more technical works may have little appeal. The contents of the book include chapters on Mental Health, Bodily Mechanisms, Instincts and Personality, Mind and Body, Psychological Mechanisms, Mental Breakdown, Problems of Early Life, Problems of Childhood and Adolescence, Adult Problems, Sex Education, and the Art of Adjustment.

The author avoids identifying himself with any particular school of thought in this field. He is rather eclectic in his points of view in the sense that he is willing to accept the best that has been developed in each of the several schools. The volume is full of practical suggestions that every teacher and social worker should know. The discussion on psychological mechanisms is perhaps unduly influenced by psychoanalysis; while the title of chapter IV, Mind and Body, would in itself provoke a tempest in most American psychological laboratories.

CHARLES E. SKINNER

Newer Ways with Children, by M. V. O'SHEA. New York: Greenberg, 1929, 419 pages.

Of late, complaints have come from parents that they are much confused over the controversies of experts over the training of children.

Dr. M. V. O'Shea has written a book which will very much aid the parents in handling the everyday problems of their children. Selfishness, jealousy, destructiveness, temper tantrums, and other traits are all helpfully discussed in *Newer Ways with Children.* Practical suggestions for training children in courage, confidence, and ethical behavior are found in some of the very readable chapters of this book.

Although this book is especially helpful to parents, teachers will find much to aid them better to understand all types of children coming under their care.

META L. ANDERSON

Fundamentals of Child Study, by EDWIN A. KIRKPATRICK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, 410 pages.

The important work on *Fundamentals of Child Study* which has been so valuable for almost twenty-five years has been brought up-to-date by Dr. Kirkpatrick. The new book needs no introduction. It has proved itself worth while over a long period of time. The new edition retains what is good of the old, and adds chapters on the newer aspects of child study such as personality development and mental hygiene.

This book has been and will continue to be a valuable textbook for the use of students in education and psychology.

META L. ANDERSON

Elementary Laboratory Aerodynamics, by ARTHUR JORDAN. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1930, 128 pages.

This is a manual for teachers of aviation which outlines twenty-one experiments that might be of use to demonstrate some of the principles of aerodynamics. It is distinctly not an outline of a course in aerodynamics and at best can serve only as a supplement to the material which the average teacher has prepared for his course. As a supplement, however, it is likely to prove of real worth. Experiments are intended for juniors and seniors in high school and presuppose a knowledge of elementary algebra and plane geometry. Nearly half of the book is left blank so that notes and experiment results may be recorded in the volume itself.

ROLAND SPAULDING

Curriculum Problems in Industrial Education, by FRED C. SMITH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 145 pages.

This study represents an attempt to obtain curriculum material which can be utilized for the upgrading of employed adults in certain types of industrial pursuits. The curriculum material obtained emphasizes activities other than school activities which are necessary for increased efficiency on the job.

The author contends that the technique which he has employed represents a contribution and that the type of material derived is superior

to material obtained in any former curriculum studies with which he is familiar.

The technique employed centers around conferences which were attended by representatives of the three groups most concerned; namely, employers, workers, and educators. Key expressions typical of activities needed for improving the average workers were suggested at these conferences, and later committee action resulted in a refinement of the expressions into a working list of desirable activities. A questionnaire check on material was furnished through the assistance of supposedly competent workers in the field. An experimental school was established in Cincinnati to try out the material.

The original investigation dealt with employed machinists. Subsequent studies employing the same techniques have dealt with the building mechanics, electricians, and industrial chemists.

The techniques employed by Smith are interesting, but they have been used in modified form by others. The material derived is subject to the criticism of being entirely too general and of questionable validity. There is apparently a lack of distinction made between material which is absolutely essential to the correct and understanding performance of the various daily jobs and that material which, although it may be interesting or desirable from a general point of view, nevertheless is *not absolutely essential*. Herein lies one of the weaknesses of large group suggestions. The mere fact that one member of the group makes a suggestion which usually reflects his personal viewpoint is no criterion of the worth of the suggestion for application to all of the adult workers. Furthermore, all members of the group may not have the same interpretation of any one or more statements made by members of the group.

The time allotments for covering the various topics given in the suggested courses seem in every case to be entirely inadequate. The topics given in the courses seem, in many cases, to constitute merely a condensed list from a standard text in the field. Insufficient attention has been given to the matter of correct method to be used with the content derived.

The study is interesting and suggestive, but at its best it can hardly be rated as being better than a stimulating start towards the solution of one of our major problems in the training of industrial workers.

RALPH E. PICKETT

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The Child is Coming Into His Own

A second session of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection called by President Hoover was attended by more than three thousand delegates and experts from all over the United States. No previous meeting in American history brought together so large a group of individuals interested in the welfare of the child. This meeting surely marks the beginning of a new epoch in the study of the child and his needs. It marks the beginning of a new charter of health, happiness, training, freedom, and citizenship of the American child.

The final conclusions of the conference were summarized as follows in the report adopted:

"Every American child has the right to the following services in its development and protection:

"Every prospective mother should have suitable information, medical supervision during the prenatal period and competent care at confinement. Every mother should have postnatal medical supervision for herself and child.

"Every child should receive periodical health examinations before and during the school period, including adolescence, by the family physician, or the school or other public physician, and such examination by specialists and such hospital care as its special needs may require.

"Every child should have regular dental examination and care.

"Every child should have instruction in the schools in health and in safety from accidents and every teacher should be trained in health programs.

"Every child should be protected from communicable diseases to which he might be exposed at home, in school, or at play, and protected from impure milk and food.

"Every child should have proper sleeping rooms, diet, hours of sleep and play, and parents should receive expert information as to the needs of children of various ages as to these questions.

"Every child must attend a school which has proper seating, lighting, ventilation, and sanitation. For younger children, kindergartens and nursery schools should be provided to supplement home care.

"The school should be so organized as to discover and develop the special abilities of each child and should assist in vocational guidance, for children, like men, succeed by the use of their strongest qualities and special interests.

"Every child should have some form of religious, moral, and character training.

"Every child has a right to a place to play with adequate facilities therefor.

"With the expanding domain of the community's responsibilities for children there should be proper provision for and supervision of recreation and entertainment.

"Every child should be protected against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental; that limits education; that deprives children of the right of comradeship, of joy, and play.

"Every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped should be given expert study and corrective treatment where there is the possibility of relief, and appropriate development or training. Children with subnormal or abnormal mental conditions should receive adequate study, protection, training, and care.

"Every waif and orphan in need must be supported.

"Every child is entitled to the feeling that he has a home. The extension of the services in the community should supplement and not supplant parents.

"Children who habitually fail to meet normal standards of human behavior should be provided with special care under the guidance of the school, the community health or welfare center, or other agency for continued supervision or, if necessary, control.

"Where the child does not have these services, due to inadequate income of the family, then such services must be provided to him by the community.

"The rural child should have as satisfactory schooling, health protection, and welfare facilities as the city child.

"In order that these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children may be everywhere available, there should be a district, country, or community organization for health education and welfare, with full-time officials coördinating with a State-wide program which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics, and scientific research. This should include (a) trained full-time health officials with public-health nurses, sanitary inspection, and laboratory workers; (b) available hospital beds; (c) full-time public-welfare services for the relief and aid of children in special need from poverty or misfortune, for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation, or moral hazard; (d) the development of voluntary organization of children for purposes of instruction, health, and recreation through private effort and benefaction. When possible, existing agencies should be coördinated."

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Miss Clairette P. Armstrong received her A.B. from Barnard College and her A.M. from Columbia University, School of Political Science. She also received a diploma from the New York School of Social Work. Miss Armstrong has been connected with the Civilian Relief in France with the American Red Cross in 1918; with the Chief Child Welfare Bureau, Montenegrin Commission, American Red Cross in 1919 and 1920 organizing and directing orphanages and schools. She has done graduate work in psychology at Columbia University and New York University, and has been chief psychologist at Bellevue Hospital and at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. At present Miss Armstrong is psychologist of the Children's Court, New York City, and consulting psychologist.

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV FEBRUARY, 1931 No. 6

EDITORIAL

The current number of the JOURNAL is devoted exclusively to the presentation of the problem of narcotics in its social and educational aspects. Moreover, the effort in this issue has been made in line with the policy of this JOURNAL, to approach this problem from the point of view of research in the field.

Captain Richmond P. Hobson, of the International Narcotic Education Association, has so aptly summarized, in his statement, the point of view of this JOURNAL with reference to research in this particular field that I am presenting his view. He says:

> In few fields, perhaps in no field, are the basic facts more hidden, more hedged about by barriers, than in the field of narcotic drug addiction and in no field, perhaps, is it more necessary to know the basic facts. The drug heroin, for instance, the most powerful of the narcotic-forming drugs, was first announced and used as nonhabit forming and harmless by the profession.
>
> Moreover, the world is being exploited by a secret international drug ring that is sinking its roots into the commercial, financial, and political systems of the nation. As I write, the papers announce, in large headlines, the confiscation of a million-dollar shipment of morphine designed for illegal uses. It is difficult to get at the nature of this peril. As research is attempted those seeking information find a situation that does not yield basic information. Furthermore, the scientific student

has found it difficult to determine the nature of drugs, the physiology of addiction, the degree of "tolerance" and "withdrawal" symptoms, or to offer a cure for the drug addict. Governments have not the knowledge nor have they developed the means for finding out the number of drug addicts, and the cause and manner of the spread of addiction. Thus far they have proved unable or unwilling to suppress the illicit traffic.

It would appear from the research that individuals are deceived and, through their ignorance, are led to the formation of drug habits and yet it is difficult to discover even the methods by which the use of narcotics is spread. Undoubtedly one of the serious features in preventing the spread is the ignorance and indifference on the part of the public. It would appear that a program of narcotic education, both through the informal educational agencies and through the schools, is essential to the safety of the individual and of society, but even the adequate organization of a program of education will depend upon the research into the facts relating to drugs and also a research into the attitudes, knowledge, and point of view of the educator in order to introduce into the schools, in its appropriate place, the essential knowledge for the purpose of dispelling ignorance and arousing interest on this fundamental social problem.

In a word, the solution of the problem of narcotic drug addiction will hinge upon the character and effectiveness of the research into every phase of its manufacture, its distribution, its effect in use, and the educational problem involved. It is the primary purpose of the International Narcotic Education Association to make these researches and to base its procedure upon scientific findings. The organization invites the coöperation and assistance from the public in its work of research and investigation and should welcome any criticism of its efforts from those who are interested in a scientific approach to the study and solution of this problem. It would welcome any statement of criticism or suggestion at its office at 578 Madison Avenue, New York City.

This point of view seems to me to be so sane and in line with the essential approach to this problem that we have included it in full. The JOURNAL would welcome response from its readers—suggestions or criticisms—and also would like to know of whatever is taking place in the field at any point in the effort to control the evils of narcotic drug addiction.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CAUSES OF OPIUM ADDICTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

C. E. TERRY

In none of the sociological problems that confront us today is there such a close intermingling of necessary and unnecessary practices as is found in the use and abuse of opium and its derivatives. Historically, its medical and social uses developed concurrently and must be considered together if a proper understanding of the problem as it exists today is to be attained.

As far as is known, opium was used first in common with certain other drugs for therapeutic purposes alone. The earliest available information is that referred to in *The Assyrian Herbal* by R. Campbell Thompson, which is a translation of Assyrian medical tablets in the British Museum, formerly in the Royal Library of Ashurbanipal. Thompson points out a possible origin for the Latin *papaver,* in the Assyrian *Arat Pa Pa,* "juice of the poppy," found in these tablets. They also contain the borrowed Sumerian ideogram, *hul gil.* This ideogram, which signifies "joy" or "rejoicing" (*hul*) and "plant" (*gil*), according to Professor R. P. Dougherty in charge of the Babylonian Collection at Yale University, dates from about the fourth millennium B. C. It would appear from this term that the Sumerians were familiar with its euphoric properties and that they recognized its medical properties is evidenced by the uses they made of it. The method of collecting opium is described in these tablets and was the same as that in use today in opium-growing countries. It is not improbable that the Assyrians, Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, Turks, and Arabs acquired their knowledge of the drug directly or indirectly from the Sumerians and Babylonians. Greek and Roman medical and other literature referred to it (Hippocrates, Herodotus, Vergil, Homer, etc.). Its

extension East through Arab traders carried it to India before the time of Mohammed (570 A. D.-632 A. D.).

It is said that opium has been known in China since the seventh century A. D., when it was imported overland from India via Burma and Yunnan by Arab traders. The first Chinese mention of it was in 973 A. D., when the reigning emperor ordered the preparation of a new herbarium into which the poppy was inserted as a cure for dysentery. The trade originated by the Arabs later was perpetuated by the Chinese themselves and by the Portuguese and Dutch traders from India and other opium-growing countries, in whose hands it remained until 1773 when English merchants from Calcutta took it up. At this time the importation increased rapidly and in 1781 the East India Company took the trade into its own hands.

In the history of the use of opium in medicine a momentous discovery was made in 1803 when Derosne and two years later Sertürner succeeded in separating from the crude drug a substance, an alkaloid base, now known as morphine. This was the beginning of modern alkaloidal medicine.

Throughout the nineteenth century in Europe as well as in the New World, opium continued to be used under one pretext or another in almost every malady. Opinions differed as to its physiological properties and as to its mechanism in disease, but all schools of thought agreed as to its efficacy, whatever the alleged *modus operandi*.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF ADDICTION

As far as the earliest records indicate, the social problems involved in the nonmedical use of opium were evidenced first in those countries in which the poppy was cultivated and from which commerce carried it to other parts of the world. Well-authenticated records show that the Persians, Turks, and Arabs, all of whom produced opium, were noted for its continued use, and other countries, such as India and China, to which opium first was

carried by the Mohammedans (Arabs) presumably for medical purposes, became producing countries and *pari passu* consuming countries. That the Mohammedans early became heavy consumers of opium has been attributed by some writers to the fact that the prophet, Mohammed, in the Koran prohibited the use of alcoholic beverages but not that of opium, and that the faithful thus satisfied their desire for narcotics by the use of the latter drug.

All of the producing countries became to a greater or less degree consumers of the crude drug and have remained so until today. In China the eating of opium for non-medical purposes developed as it had in India through the cultivation of the poppy. That its consumption in this form in China had reached the dimensions of a social problem is evidenced by the fact that its use was interdicted before the smoking of opium had been introduced into that country. Although no definite evidence is at hand, Morse is inclined to think that opium was not smoked by itself in China until about 1700, after which it came to be especially prepared for this purpose. The first edict against the smoking of opium is said to be that of Yung Cheng in 1729, though earlier edicts had been issued against tobacco smoking.

The smoking of opium spread from China wherever the Chinese migrated. It was brought to the United States by coolie laborers on the West Coast and it is said that the first white man to smoke opium in the United States was a world tramp named Clendenyn in 1868. The practice spread rapidly across the continent in all large centers of population and occasioned the first prohibitory legislation in the form of municipal ordinances and later of State laws. Practically every civilized country has been invaded to some extent by the practice.

While the problems of opium misuse developed first on an extensive scale in the producing countries they developed also, though more gradually, in all countries in which opium was used in medicine. In Europe the social use of

opium gradually spread before and during the Middle Ages. How extensive the use of the crude drug and, later, of laudanum became in Europe and America before the nineteenth century is not known.

Another influence to increase the problem of addiction began with certain writings of this period. Even the very earliest medical writings, such as those of Michael Doering, Young, Jones, and others to warn against the dangers of too free a use of opium, dwelt at such length upon its euphoric and stimulating properties and endowed it with such mysterious qualities that it was little wonder that the more intellectual laymen of the day developed an interest in the drug and that lay writers utilized their partial knowledge of its properties. Among the earliest and by far the most important of these was Thomas De Quincey, in whom ill health, a neurotic temperament, and literary genius combined to produce the "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." It is doubtful if any single work has had a more far-reaching influence in stimulating its readers to undertake hazardous experiments with opium than has De Quincey's masterpiece, the forerunner of a host of other less brilliant but equally morbid productions.

The next important discovery which became a factor in the spread of addiction was that of the hypodermic syringe by Rynd of Dublin in 1845 and Wood of Edinburgh in 1853. By the employment of this instrument and the injection of morphine and other derivatives of opium under the skin, it was thought that the so-called opium appetite would not be stimulated, as it had been heretofore by oral administration. That this was not realized is evidenced by the fact that the hypodermic use of morphine as a drug of addiction has become in Western countries the most common method of administration.

It is probable that ever since the analgesic effects of opium became known, wars also have been responsible for an increase in the problem of addiction, although little mention of this factor can be found in available records

until the advent of the Civil War in the United States and the Franco-Prussian War in Europe. So marked was the effect of the former that opium addiction came to be known in America after 1865 as the "army disease." The World War also gave rise to many victims in all of the participating countries, particularly in Germany, France, and Italy, where the marked increase is a matter of frequent comment in medical writings.

The extolling of opium by medical writers and the susceptibility of the public to therapeutic suggestions culminated in the nineteenth century in the development of a host of patent remedies containing opium or its derivatives. The peak of the patent-medicine industry in the United States was reached just prior to the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act in 1906. The decline of the industry began at this time and was further affected in 1914 with the passage of the Harrison Narcotic Act.

In 1898 a further impetus was given to the use of opium through the discovery by Dreser in Germany of heroin. His claims and those of others were to the effect that it was free from habit-forming properties and was useful in the treatment of opium addiction. Medical literature for the next ten or twelve years continued to advocate the use of heroin and it was not until about 1910 that the picture began to change and the profession began to realize that heroin was as dangerous as morphine or other opium derivatives in addiction-forming properties. The underworld, in America, at least, already were well aware of this. Heroin was taken by mouth and hypodermically and, in addition, came to be used by sniffing, a method earlier applied to cocaine. Its greater potency, the ease with which it could be sniffed, and the rapidity of its absorption through the mucous membrane of the nose all led to early popularity of this drug as a drug of addiction. Its use as a curative agent in morphinism was responsible also in a large measure for its nonmedical use. Since the adoption of local and national prohibitory laws, heroin has become

more profitable in the illicit traffic and, along the Atlantic seaboard in the United States, the most commonly handled drug. The fact that its amorphous form permits easily of adulteration doubtless has been a factor in this situation. At the present time in the United States, such a strong sentiment against heroin has developed that its importation and manufacture are prohibited, even though it is claimed in some medical circles that heroin possesses certain uniquely valuable therapeutic properties.

The illicit traffic as an influence in the spread of addiction cannot be measured. That this traffic is enormous and reaches practically every corner of the earth, that it involves many tons of morphine and heroin annually in addition to opium prepared for smoking, and that it is carried on in response to a very real demand are testified to by many of the documents of the League of Nations. Seizures have been reported amounting to thousands of pounds, yet there seems to be no scarcity of smuggled drug. Individual histories of addicts show that morphine, heroin, and cocaine are available practically everywhere in the United States and Europe. The very nature of the traffic is such that it cannot be defined with accuracy, yet that it operates to extend addiction through the efforts of the retail peddlers is a common feature of the history of many addicts.

One other contributory influence on the problem of addiction in its present magnitude remains to be considered. This influence, in the United States at least, is the present attitude of the medical profession towards addiction, either as the result of lack of knowledge or lack of interest in the subject. As medical knowledge has increased, especially within the last one hundred years, and therapeutic measures have been directed more at cause and less at symptoms, the need for opium has materially decreased. Better medical training and appreciation of the dangers of its continued use and of the difficulties surrounding its relinquishment by those addicted and, in the past few decades, the more widespread popular knowledge of its undesirable

effects have tended to lessen the importance of the therapeutic addict. Unfortunately, however, accurate knowledge of tolerance formation and of the resulting dependence and unsatisfactory methods of treatment of existing cases have combined to retard medical progress, both in the prevention and cure of this condition. Further, the earlier concept that the use of opium was dependent upon a vicious "appetite" or unstable personality make-up has deterred physicians from an interest in the subject. More recently, too, the ill-judged enforcement in the United States of certain regulations under the Federal narcotic law still further prevented physicians from the handling of these cases, thus sustaining their lack of interest in the condition.

It is unavoidable in the humane practice of medicine that some addicts be formed. Chronic, incurable, painful maladies, the emergencies of war and accidents and injuries all contribute their quotas and such situations will continue as long as opium and its derivatives remain irreplacable for the relief of pain. That other cases, even at the present time, are formed from the use of opium in medicine and with less pathologic justification is undoubted. Studies made by the Committee on Drug Addictions indicate that the use of opium by physicians is not always in accordance with the best medical judgment and teachings, and that individuals needlessly are introduced to its euphoric properties at the hands of some physicians, either through ignorance or carelessness. Whatever the importance of these practices as a cause of preventable addiction, they may be expected to become less active as higher professional standards and increased knowledge of the physical and psychic effects of opium on different personalities exert their effect on medical equipment.

In reviewing the development of the problem of opium addiction through several thousand years of social evolution, we must not lose sight of the fact that each of the contributory factors named above has not been simple and

direct alone in its action; each one is complex and its indirect effects are far reaching. Each of them is so intimately concerned with social custom and usage, with deep-rooted human instincts and traditions, as to have become a part of the fabric of civilized nations. Their importance, therefore, is very great, and successfully to combat the end results each of them must be attacked individually in its medical, psychologic, and sociologic bearings.

CAUSES OF ADDICTION

Our present knowledge concerning the causation of addiction to opium is very meager, due to the fact that in their study of these cases authors have approached the subject from different points of view. A careful analysis of these studies reveals the fact that the majority of observers have appeared not to differentiate between what might be called predisposing or contributory factors and the immediate object for which the drug was taken. It is self-evident that there can be but one direct cause; namely, the continued taking of the drug over a sufficiently long period to produce, upon withdrawal, distress of some kind to the patient. In their classifications, however, most authors lose sight of the further fact that in any given case along with the object for which the drug is taken there may exist one or more predisposing causes, such as the influence of environment, of heredity, of psychopathological tendencies, and the like. The common mistake, therefore, on the part of most writers on the subject consists in using as a basis of etiologic classification incomparable factors. There can be only two effects sought in the use of the drug; namely, therapeutic effect and euphoria but there are many predisposing influences for its continued use. It is obviously incorrect to name one of these factors, including the object for which the drug originally was taken and the predisposing influences, as *the cause* of addiction in a given case. The determination of the exact rôle played by each of these factors is a matter for the most delicate

analysis and one which has received in previous studies practically no consideration, in spite of its very evident importance in the prevention of needless cases of addiction. The more or less limited or selected experiences of the various individual observers point strongly to the need of a broader and more critical type of approach. In this connection, there is a lack of evidence that sufficiently long and representative series of cases formed the basis upon which the various authors drew their conclusions.

It is commonly stated that from two weeks to thirty days is a sufficient length of time in which to establish addiction in most individuals when morphine is taken daily in increasing doses. Some authors claim that a much shorter period than this is sufficient in individuals of certain temperaments, while in others the drug may be taken repeatedly for periods of weeks or even months without the loss of the ability to discontinue it at will. Such cases, however, are relatively rare.

Owing to its invaluable properties in the relief of pain and as a narcotic, it is inevitable in certain medical uses of opium that cases of addiction be formed; and it is the general consensus of medical opinion that this fact should not deter physicians from its use when it is necessitated by the exigencies of the medical situation. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that as far as the history of medicine tells us, its therapeutic use in the hands of physicians has not always been so limited and that its needless use, *i.e.*, its use for minor ailments and discomforts which might well have been borne by the average patient or relieved by the use of less dangerous remedies, has all too frequently proved the exciting cause of many cases of addiction. That this needless use of opium still continues to operate as an important exciting factor in the formation of cases of addiction is common knowledge in medical circles and is borne out by certain studies made by the Committee on Drug Addictions.

These cases where the drug first was taken for its euphoric effect alone constitute the class whose addiction originated on a nonmedical basis. Among them may be included addicts of all social groups who were introduced to the drug through association, curiosity, bravado, or other social stimuli. The opportunities for the operation of this type of cause are innumerable. Educational influences through published descriptions of the effects of the drug, association with individuals who have themselves used it, the traditions so commonly circulated as to its alleged aphrodisiac properties, the deliberate proselytism of traffickers and other addicts, example in the orgiastic tendencies of certain types of social gatherings, all claim their quotas chiefly among the young of both sexes whose natural imitative faculties and the unstable judgment of youth or constitution render them especially susceptible to suggestion. How great a percentage of all addicts in Occidental countries form this group cannot be determined on a statistical basis at the present time. That it includes large numbers of individuals is evidenced by the magnitude of the illicit traffic required to supply its demand.

Among the predisposing factors influencing the formation of addiction the one which probably requires the most serious consideration is that of the personality make-up of the individual. There are certain persons who, by reason of their psychologic, emotional, or temperamental characteristics, more readily than others become victims of the chronic use of the drug. This influence must not be lost sight of as, whatever the method of exposure through medical use, environment, or other means, it is present uniformly in the types involved. The statement has been made frequently that all addicts are constitutionally unstable. As yet sufficient evidence has not been produced to establish the validity of this hypothesis.

Closely allied in nature to the foregoing is the influence of environment on certain types of personality make-up. This may develop accidentally, as through the occupation

of the individuals affected (pharmacists, nurses, physicians, etc.), through association with acquaintances who use the drug for therapeutic purposes but who ill-advisedly pass on this knowledge, through voluntary association of a vicious nature involving dissipation in many forms, or through economic, domestic, or other social or emotional difficulties leading to the euphoric use of the drug. The potentialities of this factor are obvious but the degree of its influence is quite unknown.

Finally illness takes its place among the common predisposing causes of addiction. The relative position taken by this factor among the predisposing influences in general of today cannot be stated but, as was pointed out above, as long as painful disease prevails and opium is the principal agent of relief, addicts will be formed by its use.

From the point of view of the group, the social problems resulting from addiction are, first, the development of methods for the successful handling of existing cases and, second, the prevention of the formation of new cases.

The first of these problems is not a simple one and its solution must provide for the handling in a number of different ways of a variety of different types of cases. The most important consideration, probably, in the planning of remedial measures is a formulation of the etiologic factors operating to create the end product, *i.e.*, the addict population. As we have seen, these factors are widely different in character, in so far as the object for which the drug is first taken and the predisposing influences are concerned. It is obvious that for this purpose many different classifications of addicts could be made. For present purposes, the following is suggested: (1) individuals suffering from an incurable painful malady; (2) individuals to whom the drug was administered during a self-limited or curable malady; (3) individuals addicted through self-medication; (4) individuals who first took the drug through curiosity or bravado; and (5) individuals first introduced to the

drug through vicious associations. While the preceding classification is based chiefly on the object for which the drug first was taken and is offered merely to facilitate the practical handling of the problem from a sociologic point of view, it should be remembered, as pointed out above, that more than one predisposing factor may be operative in any given case and due cognizance of the existence of each should be taken. Especially is this true in relation to the personality make-up of the individual affected. Individuals of so-called "normal" as well as unstable personalities exist in all groups named and the handling of these cases must vary with the type involved.

It is not the province of this article to discuss the details of prevention, treatment, and control. It seems proper, however, to state that any system of control, in the broad sense, that fails to take into account the direct and predisposing causes of addiction discussed above must inevitably fall short of effective accomplishment.

THE REHABILITATION OF THE DRUG ADDICT

GEORGE B. WALLACE

The intensive experimental and clinical studies on drug addiction which have been made in recent years have established a number of facts of fundamental importance. In addition, they have had an effect in defining more clearly the directions which attempts to solve the problem of addiction may profitably take. In the past, knowledge on the subject has been uncoördinated and largely empirical. At present facts brought out by the more exact methods of statistics, experimentation, and by thorough clinical study are available and are brought together as coördinated parts of a whole. There are indeed innumerable gaps remaining, but on the whole it may be said with some confidence that the problem of drug addiction is better understood than that of any other one of comparable nature and importance.

In the carefully planned and carried-out studies made at the Philadelphia General Hospital, and repeated in part at Bellevue Hospital, it was shown that continued taking of opium or any of its derivatives resulted in no measurable organic damage. The addict, when not deprived of his opium, showed no abnormal behavior which distinguished him from a nonaddict. Further, the most careful examination of his body functions failed to show any damage which could be directly attributed to the narcotics. In animal experiments, which allow of complete control of all steps, it has also been demonstrated that morphine addiction is not accompanied by organic damage. The experiments, which are supplementary to the clinical studies, are of importance in that the animals used were studied not only during the addiction period but in the pre- and post-periods as well. These studies, carried out independently and agreeing in conclusions, are very convincing and, contrary to

older beliefs, establish that an addict is not an irrevocably diseased person.

The clinical studies have further thrown more light on the mental make-up of the drug addict. This is a phase of the problem much more difficult of approach, and for which methods for accurate measurements have not been developed. In both the Philadelphia and New York studies, the addicts under observation belonged to the lower social order and in fact many had criminal records. It was found that about half of the entire number could be classed as constitutionally psychopathic types. This term should not be confused with the term insanity, in the sense in which this latter is commonly used. It includes a complex mental make-up which prevents a reasonable adjustment to surrounding conditions. That basic changes in character occur during addiction was not established. The traits of lying, irritability, unscrupulousness, cowardice, disregard for others, and a lowering of the whole moral tone which characterize the behavior of the addict have long been recognized. It is not improbable, however, that these are all in a way part of a long existent defense mechanism. Since the addict can never be assured of the continuity of his drug supply, and, further, since there is a dread of the knowledge of his habit becoming spread, he adopts any method available to forestall these calamities. Whether a group of addicts in better worldly circumstances and of a higher social order would contain a proportionate number of psychopaths is unknown. It is quite probable, however, that such would be the case. In any event, the fact that so many drug addicts are of this abnormal type emphasizes the difficulties in any rehabilitation plan.

In practically all studies on drug addicts, efforts are made to determine the reason for the starting of the addiction. The results are sometimes given a statistical significance. While they are not sufficiently dependable for this, they still afford useful information. In general, it has been found that the addiction began in one of two

ways: first, through association with other addicts and, second, through the drug's being given by a physician in treatment of disease. In the latter instance, if the disease is of some duration and the narcotic administration continued throughout its course, the habit may be firmly established; or the knowledge of the great relief afforded by the drug may prompt the person to make use of it for entirely different conditions, mental as well as physical. The real distinction from the practical standpoint is that the individual who has taken the drug only for the purpose of relieving suffering caused by a continued physical disease offers a far better chance of complete and permanent cure than do the others.

The inability of the drug addict to rid himself of his habit is well known. In the Bellevue Hospital study where some three hundred addicts were under observation, it was shown that each addict had undergone at least one withdrawal treatment. Most of them had undergone several such treatments and some had passed through ten or more withdrawals. But in all of these it was unusual to find an abstinence period of longer than one year. The many so-called cures for drug addiction therefore have in themselves no permanency of effect. It is indeed hardly surprising that an addict, free for a time of his habit, but remembering clearly the pleasure and relief the narcotic affords, returns to its employment when his environment favors this or when he sees in it a relief from conditions he feels unable to face.

The facts which have been presented in the preceding paragraphs have a direct bearing on the problem of rehabilitation. They offer promise in that narcotic addiction produces no permanent organic damage, and hence on the physical side no bar to complete recovery. They are discouraging on the other hand in showing that a very considerable proportion of drug addicts are, if not actually psychopathic, at least significantly unstable mentally and unadapted for suitable adjustment to conditions which they

inevitably must face. It is discouraging also to know that in spite of a full recognition of the evils of drug addiction and the best intention to remain free of it, a permanent riddance of the habit has been in the past the exception and not the rule. But while these discouraging aspects emphasize the difficulties confronting any rehabilitation scheme, they are in no way overwhelming, and there seems no reason to doubt that a workable plan can be evolved through which those addicts whose habit is curable may be brought to a condition of permanent abstinence and those who are incurable placed in a position where they are no longer a social burden or menace.

Except for the passing of prohibitory laws there have been very few organized efforts made for ridding the drug addict of his habit. In 1919 the New York City Health Department opened a clinic for the care of drug addicts, at which over seven thousand were registered. Similar ones were established at about the same time at Shreveport, Louisiana, Los Angeles, and many other cities. At this time enforcement of the Harrison Act had materially shut off the ordinary sources of drug supply, and the addict could obtain his drug only from peddlers at an exorbitant price. The purpose of the clinics was to supply morphine at a moderate cost over a period during which efforts were made to gradually free the addict of his habit. The clinics seem to have performed a useful service in that in many instances the addicts, through being regularly and inexpensively supplied with their drugs, were able to work steadily and maintain their families. In addition they put an end to drug peddlers. After a rather short existence these clinics came to an end, either voluntarily or through order of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

Aside from these short-lived clinics, very little of a public nature has been attempted. New York City established a colony for inebriates and drug addicts in 1915 at Warwick, and in 1919 Riverside Hospital was set aside for those addicts, registered at the Health Department Clinic,

who were in need of hospital treatment. At both places the chief aim was to carry out a short convalescent treatment.

In the past two or three years, institutional work on rehabilitation, along well-planned and comprehensive lines, has been started in Michigan and California. The California experiment, begun in 1928, will be described later.

The general features of a rehabilitation plan, omitting for the present details of execution, are as follows: The addicts would be kept under legal commitment for an indeterminate period in an isolated locality. At the outset there would be a complete withdrawal of the drug of addiction. A comprehensive study of each addict would be made by which would be determined his physical condition, his mental make-up, the reasons for beginning addiction, and his training and fitness for some work affording a livelihood. The defects noted, a therapeutic schedule—mental, physical, and occupational—would be instituted. When a satisfactory degree of improvement had resulted, the addict would be provisionally discharged and a place secured for him through which he would become self-supporting and in which any former injurious environmental factors were absent. He would not, however, be a free agent, but on parole, which again would be indeterminate. The parole system would be such that the former addict would be helped when difficulties in his adjustment arose, and a return to addiction promptly recognized. If addiction recurred, he would be returned to the rehabilitation center and if deemed worth while the whole process would be repeated.

In the plan outlined, many difficulties may be seen. Its carrying out necessitates long-continued effort and large expense, and the ultimate results are by no means certain. It may indeed be asked whether the attempt is worth while. In this connection certain considerations may be stated. There is no accurate estimate of the number of drug addicts in the United States or in any of its localities. The reason

for this is that an unknown number of addicts obtain their drug supply from peddlers. Such traffic being illegal, there is no known method for determining its extent. When the clinic in New York City was opened, as already stated, over seven thousand addicts were registered, but it would not be proper to apply this figure in estimates for other communities in this State nor for the country at large. Reliable studies, however, give a national figure of approximately ninety thousand addicts who obtain their drugs in a legal manner, that is from pharmacists through physicians' prescriptions. If, in connection with this figure, is considered the extent of illegal addiction, it seems reasonable to believe that addiction is present in excess of .1 per cent of the population.

In the second place, through association and encouragement many addicts introduce drug taking to acquaintances. Again, the extent to which this occurs cannot be estimated, but it is considered a definite factor in the etiology of drug addiction. Removal of the drug addict and his rehabilitation does away with this factor.

Finally, an intensive study of drug addicts, carried through in accordance with the plan would not only give definite information concerning this particular group, but would also bring out facts which might have a very general application. The make-up of the drug addict is probably not unlike that of the great number of individuals who are unable to make their own adjustments and receive no real help in their difficulties. Drug addiction is an expression of this and comparable to other expressions of unsocial behavior in those of similar make-up. In spite of the general interest in this subject, there is no clear-cut agreement as to the proper handling of these unfortunates. The results of the rehabilitation plan should be a real and practical contribution to the more general problem. It should also emphasize and strengthen the widespread feeling that the problem of the adult unfit has its beginning in childhood.

Another matter which should be considered has to do

with the control of the rehabilitation experiment. It may be accepted that a government assumes responsibility for the welfare of its people, whether these are fit or unfit. Government control, however, deals commonly with established, practical procedures and is not given to carrying on by itself ventures which are experimental in character and therefore uncertain as to results. What exceptions there are to this have not always won universal approval. Further, in a political system, the appointment of those entrusted with carrying out a measure, whose success is as dependent as this on its personnel, does not usually result in the selection of those best suited for the purpose. It would be far better then if the plan were carried out by some outside organization, with private funds for the purpose, and its own carefully selected groups for planning, supervision, and management. Government aid, however, would be essential in the matter of legal commitments and an enforceable parole system. It might well furnish the land, and perhaps buildings, required and help in many other less tangible ways.

If such a plan as the one outlined is considered feasible in principle, the details must be worked out with great care. It should be recognized, however, that no rigid rules of procedure can be laid down, and that such changes as experience warrants may be made without undue delay.

In selecting a location and arranging suitable quarters a number of factors have to be considered. From the standpoint of the convalescent period, of some out-of-door life for general health improvement, and of complete removal from former environment, a locality away from the city is essential. With this, there is also less likelihood of the addicts' obtaining drugs from outside sources and no greater opportunity for their escape from the institution.

In view of the different types of addicts who would be gathered, it would seem advisable to have a unit system of housing rather than large common dormitories. In this way small and selected groups could be arranged for, which

would make easier the handling and reëducation problems. Special quarters are desirable for withdrawal treatment. Of great importance would be proper arrangements for occupational therapy since this is designed particularly for the purpose of preparation for positions after discharge.

To an institution of the kind contemplated, there would come all types and classes of addicts. If State or city aid were rendered, many of those would be of the type seen in workhouses. Others would apply, however, who have never been under police jurisdiction. But in all instances, there can be no hope of success unless legal commitment is made. This must obviously be for an indefinite period, the termination of which rests with the director of the institute. If after discharge and while on parole, readdiction occurs, there should be a return to the institution under the original terms.

It must be emphasized that the success or failure of the undertaking will depend upon those in direct charge, and particularly upon the director. The director should be a physician of sound judgment and experience, with a broad and sympathetic knowledge of human nature. He should also have the keenest interest in the problem at hand, an enthusiasm and perseverance to carry through work until such time as the results are thoroughly established. He would make clear that the institution was not a prison but a combination of hospital and training school. While men of the kind described are not commonly met with, there is little doubt that one could be obtained.

Closely associated with the director in his professional work should be a second physician, trained in psychological or psychiatric work. It will be largely through his efforts that an understanding of the mental make-up of each addict is obtained, and proper measures for adjustment and training carried out. There are younger men available for this work who would welcome its opportunities.

Among other members of the staff would be those having charge of the occupational therapy divisions, selected

because of their character and special training, and employees for the usual routine work. It is quite probable, as time went on, that many of the positions could be filled by those who have been inmates of the institution, and preferred life there to struggles with the outside world.

The procedure in regard to addicts committed to the institute should be uniform in principle. A withdrawal treatment can be carried through according to methods advised by the committee in charge of the Bellevue Hospital study. After the withdrawal, convalescent treatment is given for such time as is necessary. During this time an idea of the mental state and capacity of the addict can be obtained. The necessary steps are then taken for reëducation and training. No stated time for this can be given. In rare cases a few weeks may be sufficient, in others many months and in some a year or more. Those who have had experience with drug addicts will agree with the statement that during this period a fairly sharp differentiation can be made of curable, incurable, and doubtful cases. The disposition of those eventually pronounced incurable is not discussed here, as this is entirely a government problem.

Finally, some description of the parole system may be given. To be effective there must be provisions for a legally enforced parole period. Laws passed for this purpose are to be considered a continuation, and therefore a part of the original commitment laws. The period of parole, like that of commitment, must by the nature of things be indefinite, but two years would appear to be a minimum time.

The parole system in rehabilitation has many aspects. It is first necessary to create a sentiment in favor of giving positions to former addicts. The positions available, the nature of the work, and the environmental factors should be especially investigated. Knowledge of the addict, of his make-up, his aptitude, his training, and his own desires, would be available from the institute records. With these facts at hand it may be possible intelligently to place the

former addict in a position suitable to his capabilities. Once placed, his subsequent career for any time desired can be followed, and help offered when difficulties arise. There is, of course, a great difference between an ideal and its practical accomplishment and it would be unreasonable to expect that these features of the system would be uniformly successful. The actual facts, however, can be determined.

To offer real promise of success, it goes without saying that the parole officer must be an unusual individual. He must establish a standing with employers, and form and maintain friendly relations with the addicts. Above all he should have a deep interest in the problem itself and a confidence in the possibility of solution.

It is a relatively simple matter to draw up a plan for rehabilitation. How successfully it may be carried out, however, is another matter and can be determined only after the attempt is made and the results become evident. But that the idea is not Utopian is shown by the fact that a plan of similar purpose is at present in operation in California.

In 1927, the California legislature appropriated a sum of money for the establishment and operation of a colony for the rehabilitation of drug addicts. A large tract of land with buildings previously used for State purposes was set aside for the colony. It is situated outside of Spadra, a small town in Los Angeles County. The institution as at present arranged can take care of about one hundred inmates, who are committed by the superior court judges for an indeterminate period of from eight months to two years. The main effort in handling the addicts is directed towards physical restoration by means of graded exercises and outdoor farm work, but an industrial building is planned by means of which useful trades can be taught. There is a legal parole period with active supervision by the parole officer, who has had no great difficulty in finding places for those under parole. The director of the colony is Dr. Thomas F. Joyce, who has

had a large experience with drug addicts in New York City. He has taken up his work with enthusiasm and faith in the outcome. While it seems evident that the staff, equipment, and facilities for the work are far from what is desirable, nevertheless it is hopeful that such an experiment has been started. Its future course will be watched with much interest.

It is unfortunate that corrective measures for widespread evils are exercised only when these become notorious or intolerable. And when measures for relief are proposed, they usually take the form of prohibitory or punitive legislation. It is hardly believable, however, that this offers any permanent solutions, or that it is more than a useful adjunct to broader corrective aims. The aim in a study of rehabilitation is to determine the peculiar mental states and the conditions that give rise to this expression of maladjustment, to find out to what extent these may be removed, and to suggest the steps that may be taken for their prevention. An experiment carried out in accordance with the suggested plan and continued over a period of five years or more would be almost without precedent. It would conform to the requirements for any scientific study; namely, intelligent direction, adequate facilities, control of its subjects, and recording and evaluation of facts. Finally, the practical application of the knowledge obtained would be made clear.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DRUG ADDICTIONS

L. GUY BROWN

Drug addiction is not a simple problem. It is one habit that touches every aspect of the individual's life. Physiological functions, economic adjustments, and social status are all affected. Consequently, any plan of control must be based on an understanding of each phase of the problem. The sociological implications of drug addictions can be seen through the following social facts.

First: Drug addiction, when considered as an adjustment in life, is socially acquired. An individual comes into life without any of the characteristics that we regard as essentially human. He brings with him from his biological past only potentialities for developing human nature, but these potentialities are not directed towards any particular adjustment end. While these potentialities are absolutely necessary for developing human nature, it is organized society, man's social heritage, that makes his hereditary equipment significant at all for making social adjustments. So the biological process makes human nature possible by providing a great complex of innate capacity with an undefined potential content, but the type of human nature one develops will depend on the experiences he will have in the social process.

The important thing, then, about human hereditary potentialities is the fact that they are unorganized, and their organization depends on the experiences the individual will have in his social heritage. The individual comes into existence well endowed to make either normal or abnormal adjustments to life, or both. Each individual has a random behavior capital out of which it is possible for the individual to build an almost unlimited number of habits, either desirable or undesirable. At the outset

he does not have any definite appetites but has the capacity to develop many appetites. Even his hunger impulse is an undefined pain which makes it possible for him to develop an appetite for any food system in the world—Chinese, French, English, Bantu—no matter what his hereditary equipment may be, and no matter what his nationality may be. Not only is this true of the hunger impulse, but it is also true of the thirst impulse or any other impulse that may involve an appetite. The thirst impulse may be satisfied by water, wine, or beer, depending on the social heritage of the individual. Likewise any specific appetite or any specific desire is socially acquired. A person never has an appetite for anything he has not tasted.

So an individual starts life without any definite appetites but has the capacity to develop a predilection or an aversion for anything that may have been experienced. So there is nothing in the hereditary potentialities of an individual that necessarily has to lead to drug addiction. We are justified, therefore, in the conclusion that the habit is socially acquired. It is the social definition of a part of the undefined activity in the organism at birth. There are some who would say that the individual was a psychopathic constitutional inferior or he would not have acquired the habit. A study of many cases shows that most drug addicts did not start as psychopathic constitutional inferiors. So there is not any evidence in many cases that there was a defective underlying condition which led to drug addiction.

There is still another sense in which drug addiction is socially acquired. If a person is given morphine or some other drug in the hospital without his knowledge of the fact or without any previous information concerning the habit, he will not become a drug addict even though he suffers all the bodily "aches" when its administration has been discontinued. Unless his suffering is defined to him as being caused by a narcotic drug, he will not have a desire for the drug. He merely thinks of his "aches" as a part of his illness. He will suffer with them for a time

and then they will disappear without causing him to become an addict. If some one defines his pains as being the result of the use of drugs, and tells him that only the drug will relieve his pains, then his desire becomes specific, becomes definitely socialized, and he wishes for drugs, thus defining himself as a drug addict. But without this social definition of his symptoms, he would never develop a definite desire or become a habitual user of narcotic drugs.

The importance of this social definition can be seen by quotations from actual cases. As one person stated it:

"I said I did not know anything about dope when I went into the hospital. Well, I didn't, but I learned a lot about it while I was there. My bed was in a nest of dope fiends. It was my first contact with them. I laid there day after day listening to their talk. I heard them, one after the other, tell how they had acquired the habit and the awful times they had to get dope, and how they suffered when none was available and how people didn't understand their plight. I learned just what it meant to have the habit. I also learned all the tricks plied by a dope to get a shot when he needed it. I learned just what to say to a doctor, how to threaten him and how to prove to a peddler that one is a genuine dope and not a stool-pigeon. I learned how to take it when one breaks his needle or loses his gun. I learned how to make a 'plant' so one could have dope in jail if he got arrested. I learned the places where dopes hang out and where peddlers could be found, so you see I knew the game before I was forced to play it." (Case I.)

This individual could have left the hospital without being an addict had it not been for the social definition. While there may be organic pains, the individual does not have a desire for a narcotic drug until his pains have been defined.

There are even cases where an individual has never had morphine or any other narcotic drug, who when told that that was what was the matter with him, developed a desire for it and became a drug addict.

"I went to a small hotel on the west side after I had come from the city hospital. I was weak and still felt rheumatic. A man took the chair beside me and asked me what was the matter. I told him about my hospital experience. He smiled and said they had made a 'dope' out of me. He said only one thing would relieve me and took me to his room for a 'shot.' The pains left my back and shoulders. He sold

me a 'gun' and some 'dope.' A later investigation showed that I had not had any dope at all in the hospital. But I believed this man and became an addict." (Case VI.)

In many other cases there is another respect in which drug addiction is socially acquired. Individuals take their first try at the opium pipe or "shoot" their first morphine or "sniff" their first cocaine with a group, merely for the sake of a thrill. Persons in company with others, looking for some new form of relaxation from the routine of daily activities, venture into the unexplored fields of dope. It has been defined as a means of lifting one above an existence of monotony. Alone, the experiment would not be made. This is the story that comes from many who use dope. As one has said:

"When our day's work was done we often got together in the evening for some form of relaxation. Sometimes the girls would be with us and at other times the fellows gathered at the pool hall in the hotel where we often planned something for the evening. One night Dick joined us and told of a thrilling time he had had the night before in his first experience with an opium pipe. He suggested that we all try it together. We all went to the Chink's place and rather liked the stimulation that resulted. We went again and again until we had all developed the habit. I was frightened and tried to quit. Someone suggested morphine. I got a gun and started to shoot with some of the others. Now I am a morphine addict." (Case XI.)

This is the story that one gets from addict after addict.

Second: Not only is drug addiction socially acquired, but the habit is increased, in part, through social interaction. The novice in associations with others "shoots" as often as the "old timers." In describing this situation one addict made the following statement:

"We had used so much because of the strain; then with others you always use more. The whole crowd usually shoots with the first fellow who needs another charge. The heaviest user sets the pace for all the others. This is one way the habit grows. You become excessive with others and the first thing you know your system demands what you have given it. Nothing short of that will do." (Case I.)

Parties are another means of social interaction by which the habit is increased. This is evidenced by the description given of party experiences:

"I found one building in which twenty-five dopes were staying, men and women. . . . Several of the fellows in the group were pickpockets, and clever ones too when they carried the proper charge. When they were low and feeling bum they were more shaky and clumsy.

"The first night I was there one fellow returned with a 'touch' he had made of $50.00. He had slipped it out of some one's pocket. He put on a 'C' (cocaine) party with the sum. It was the first 'C' party I had experienced, but I sat in on several after that although I never cared for 'Catherine' like I did for 'Margaret'.[1] We smoked cigarettes and shot 'C' all night. We sniffed it and we took it hypodermically. . . .

"We shot until daylight. I must have taken it fifteen or twenty times. I felt bum that morning as I was not a 'C' fiend. Before I left I took an extra large charge dose of 'M' (morphine) to counteract the 'C'." (Case I.)

The social definition of the use of drugs has made it a secretive pattern of behavior and for that reason there are many fears in the minds of the addict. This social condition results also in the habit becoming accumulative.

"Time after time I have taken a shot when I didn't need it, thinking I might not have a chance when I was in agony. That is one reason why it is so expensive; a dope knows he must keep himself charged, so he never passes any opportunities if he can't see another one ahead." (Case I.)

This fear that plays such an important part in the life of the addict, functions in another way to increase the habit. Fear keeps the use of the drug constantly in the mind of the user until it becomes an obsession. This fact leads to "dope" holding the attention of the addict to the exclusion of all other interests. The following statement by a user shows how fear operates to keep the habit the cynosure of all activities and thus increases the habit.

"The habit was growing on me. It was taking more and more to get the desired effect. It took a grain and a half for the old junker to get a kick out of it. It frightened me to see him take so much. . . .

"How could a poor man meet the demand of an increasing dope habit? I wondered how great it would get. It was taking more and more to keep my old body charged. I worried each time the effect of a shot wore off." (Case I.)

[1]Catherine and Margaret are terms used for cocaine and morphine.

Even this is not the only respect in which fear keeps "dope" constantly in the mind, tending to increase the use of it. Fear of apprehension or detection may have the same effect. The following is an instance of a user who ran into a policeman as he was looking for a place to secure "dope."

"She offered me a seat and pulled out her bottle and gave me a shot as I was getting pretty shaky after my experience with the cop and the excitement in locating the place. If a dope could be in a settled state of mind and not always expecting to be caught, a 'shot' would last longer." (Case I.)

Third: Not only is drug addiction socially acquired and increased through social interaction, but it is a habit difficult to terminate because of the presence of other addicts; that is, because of the social relationships of those who are not trying to quit. This fact is evidenced by the following description of the experience of one individual.

"About this time my State bonus check of $365.00 came in. I gave my mother $200.00 of this and kept the rest. I then started in on a globe-trotting trip. I really started with the intention of quitting the habit, but it took some time. I went to Kansas City. I knew the ropes now and soon made a connection. I bought $50.00 worth from a doctor and then rented a room and figured on quitting. I entered the room with the feeling that one must have when he enters a death cell. I knew what a battle it would be but I had made up my mind. I knew I must go through all the agonies of a horrible death but I felt I must do it now or never.

"I had just begun to mix a reducing batch when some one knocked at my door. My first thought was 'the police!' I hid my dope. I opened the door and found standing there some fellows I had met on the road. They had got wise that I was in town and knew I had money. They filled my room day and night using my dope. The $50.00 worth did not last long. My own habit had reached such proportions that I would have soon used it myself. Men and women of all descriptions flocked to my room. The landlady knew what was going on.

"I realized for the first time that I was a marked man throughout the country among dopes. For this reason it was going to be even harder to break off. I had become identified with dope fiends and had their habits to reckon with as well as my own. Unless I could shake my companions of the dope world I knew I could never quit. Secretly I hated them all, and worst of it all was the fact that I was one of

them. I cursed them all to myself. I cursed myself and I cursed the hospital officials who gave me the habit.

"I got another room and made a $50.00 purchase and thought I'd try once more to break the habit. But the same thing happened. People I would have shunned before I became an addict forced themselves on me just because I was unfortunate in the same sense that they were. The only bond between us was dope. We were thrown together because we shared the same habit. I knew I would have to leave Kansas City. I rode the rods to Sioux City." (Case I.)

The termination of the habit is difficult for another sociological reason—the social definition of drug addiction and the attitude towards the user. The social definition is "once a drug addict, always a drug addict." This gives the addict his conception of himself and the awful realization that he may never be able to quit. Every contact he has impresses him with this fact and results in an attitude of resignation.

Fourth: The social definition of drug addiction forces the user to live in a collapsed social world. The importance of a collapsed world can be seen when one realizes how one acquires a social world in which to live and what it means to him in terms of attitudes, habits, social values, and philosophy of life, once it has been acquired.

As an individual comes into his social heritage he faces the problem of acquiring a world in which to live and the development of human nature as the subjective aspect of the world he acquires. At first there is not an object in his world that has any meaning for him. As he has experiences with objects, he defines them and develops attitudes towards them. The attitudes he develops give him his morals, his religion, his sense of beauty, his likes and dislikes, in fact, all the characteristics that we regard as essentially human.

His human nature always develops in terms of the social heritage that he has acquired as his world in which to live. He could not have acquired human nature without a social heritage and it is in terms of this social heritage, this social world that he has acquired, that he has his existence. His

human nature is valuable to him only in terms of the social situations in which he lives, and his social heritage is important to him only in terms of his human nature. It is in this sense that the individual and society are two aspects of one whole, as the late Professor Cooley has said.

So the individual has his very existence in terms of the world he has acquired. His habits, his attitudes, his occupational adjustment, his status, his conception of himself, are all in terms of the world he has acquired. The importance of this relationship is realized when something happens that causes the collapse of this social world and destroys the significance of the human nature he has developed.

In his social heritage there are taboos. There are certain patterns of behavior that elicit approbation and certain ones that draw forth condemnation. If one conforms, his status is secure; he is accepted; but if he proves to be a variant, his status is uncertain. If his nonconformity is too great, he finds that his social world collapses, and this is what happens with the drug addict. The human nature that he has developed and the world he has acquired lose their significance. They cannot function in terms of each other because of the social definition of the use of drugs.

It is the conception that one has of himself through the defining attitudes and movements of others that keeps the human nature he has developed *en rapport* with the world he has acquired. If these defining attitudes and movements are favorable, then his status is secure and he is well adjusted. If there is something in his behavior that is at variance with the accepted standards of his social heritage, then the defining attitudes and movements make his an unadjusted personality.

With the development of drug addiction, the members of his family, his friends, his relatives, give him a new definition, and he sees himself as an undesirable. In this way, he becomes an outcast. Not only may he be physically incapable of competing with others, but he cannot

continue his social relationship with others who were the most important objects of his world. Since he has developed his social nature and acquired the world in which he lives through approval groups, he is forced to go to other addicts for approval. The world that he built up and in which he had made his life adjustments has collapsed. So when he lives in terms of his past experiences, as one must live, he is living in a collapsed world. His old life adjustments have little significance for him. In the world of drug addiction he has only one adjustment to make, and soon drug addiction tends to crowd out the desire to make other adjustments. Thus he lives in a collapsed world. His old personality, his old patterns of behavior, his old habits and attitudes are of little service to him without their objective counterpart. The whole world he has acquired, his moral development, his attitudes are all different from the world (underworld) into which he must go where his pattern of behavior becomes a secretive pattern of dissipation.

The drug addict, in many cases, is no longer an intimate member of his family. He has disgraced the family name.

"I was the most miserable person on earth or I thought I was, at least. Here I was in the town of my own folks and couldn't go to see them. Dope had done it and I was not to blame. . . .

"After dark I slipped home and when I thought every one would be in bed. I wanted to go in but I had made up my mind not to go home until I could look decent and have the dope habit licked. I left a letter in the mail box telling them I had been there but was on my way going elsewhere. It was tough being at your mother's door and not able to go in, but that is what dope does for you." (Case I.)

The drug addict has to avoid not only his family as a result of the social definition but must avoid his friends as well. He does not have a confidant in the conventional world he has acquired. Society in general stigmatizes him with the attitude "*once a dope fiend, always a dope fiend.*" The police think of him as a potential criminal ready to do violence to satisfy his appetite. His behavior has the

sanction of no one but his companions in misery. Even they exploit each other.

"I went to a pool hall. There I spotted a 'junker' at once. We both recognized each other at once, as dopes do, so we began to talk. I asked him where I could 'promote' and he directed me to Chinatown. He gave me the exact address where I could go. This information cost me fifty cents. That is the way one dope works another. You have to pay for your dope and you have to pay for your information." (Case I.)

The social definition can be explained in part because drug addiction is not old, especially in its present widespread use. Being a new form of pathological adjustment to life, it is passing through the usual stage when the attitudes concerning it are emotional and sentimental rather than scientific. While drug addiction is a pernicious habit resulting in physical and mental deterioration for the user, this fact is not any more important than the social definition of its use.

The attitude concerning the cure of the drug addict is a very significant part of this social definition. Being a new pathological social adjustment, it has attracted many with remedies who do not understand either the habit or human nature. A great number of exploiters have capitalized on the fact that a group of individuals (drug addicts) in society are looking for some solution, some way out of the awful predicament in which they find themselves. In most cases "cures" do not take into consideration the nature of human nature, the nature of the habit, and the social situation in which the habit developed.

These pseudoscientific methods of treating drug addicts usually do more harm than good. Failure after failure resulted in the rapidly growing idea that there is not a cure for narcotic-drug addiction. There were statistical cures, but the individual went out and was soon as much of an addict as ever.

The attitude towards drug addiction and other maladies shows great contrasts. A case of typhoid fever, venereal

disease, or any other disease is viewed by medical men as something that can be cured. These diseases involve certain pains and other symptoms that are genuine; they are not feigned, nor is the patient an antisocial individual who is blamed for his disease.

Contrast with this the situation in which the drug addict finds himself. He is told that his pains are imaginary and that he is a degenerate. He is accused of lying and deceitful practices. He is led to believe that there is some quality in the drug that leads to his pathological adjustments of lying, stealing, and surreptitious behavior, when it is merely his adjustment to a social definition. This *definition goes on until he sees himself as a moral and intellectual degenerate with a deleterious habit that cannot be cured.*

He finds himself physically incapacitated, economically insecure, morally degraded, and socially ostracized. Court actions, platform phillipics, newspaper columns, magazine articles, all impress on him the futility of trying to be understood outside the underworld.

No one has better understood the importance of this social definition in forcing the drug addict to live in a collapsed world than C. E. Perry, who has said:

"Relieve a drug addict from all fear of censure; let him become convinced that you believe he is entitled to a treatment for his condition, reasonably free from torture; treat him, in other words, as any *other sick man, with the same sympathy that you accord the sufferer* from tuberculosis or typhoid or from any other disease; assure him that, until a rational treatment can be secured, his physical need for *his drug will be provided for at a price within his reach; remove him,* in other words, from the world of contumely, in which he finds himself, to one of understanding—and you will find a man or woman so *like yourself, when sick and weak and tired and frightened,* that all thought of deceit, secretiveness, and fear, of a depraved or degenerate individual, must vanish from your mind. You will find a human being suffering from a disease with a definite pathology of its own. You will find a totally different individual from the one you expected to find, an individual who emerges at once, or, as soon as he may reasonably be convinced of the honesty of your attitude, into such a state of mental quietude, relief, and hope, as will completely destroy any remain-

ing illusions in your mind as to the intrinsic degenerating effects of opium. You will find a man or woman who hopes by day and dreams by night of relief from physical suffering, of removal from censure, and of understanding by his fellow beings; one whose hopes, ambitions, principles, and instincts, are very like your own, and you will further find that he will quite willingly, nay, eagerly, follow any suggestion for treatment and cure, which his own experience and knowledge of his body needs have not already taught him is useless or ineffectual."[2]

It is, then, the social definition of drug addiction that places the problem in the field of sociology, along with the facts that it is socially acquired, its use is increased through social interaction, and it is a habit difficult to terminate because of social contacts in the underworld.

[2]C. E. Perry, "Some Recent Experiments In Narcotic Control," *American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health*, XI (1921), 38-43.

NARCOTICS AND EDUCATION

E. GEORGE PAYNE and J. L. ARCHER

There has been much discussion among those interested in the prevention of the use of high-powered narcotic drugs of the place that education, and particularly education in the schools, has in the solution of the problem.

There are two opposing points of view, one contending that any publicity, particularly instruction of the adolescent, will have the adverse effect of increasing rather than diminishing the use of drugs and the number of drug addicts, and the second maintaining that a well-planned educational policy, carried out in the schools, will result in a marked decrease in the drug habit.

A letter from Mr. Blanco, director of the Anti-Opium Information Bureau of Geneva, in which he expresses himself in no unmistakable terms, indicates the attitude of one group. He says, "If it is still your aim to educate people not to take narcotics, I can only repeat that I do not wish to associate with any such movement. It is doomed to failure. It is a waste of time. Time could be better employed by striving for the rigid limitation of manufacture of narcotics, so that there be no surplus available for the illicit traffic."

On the other hand, Professor Counts, associate director of the International Institute of Education, has the following to say: "The prevailing notion that social welfare may be best promoted through restrictive legislation has met with serious setbacks in recent years and thinking people are coming to see that education provides the real means of adjusting the individual to the complex problems of his environment. One of the problems of adjustment grows out of the serious menace that is developing from the use of habit-forming narcotic drugs. We can no longer escape the necessity of giving emphasis to the facts relating

to drugs and the dangers arising from drug addiction to the adolescent who is facing a period of stress in his adjustment to the social life. The public educator has a distinct problem in preventing the further extension of this serious habit and menace to the social life."

The present article is based upon the result of a partial research into the educational situation in the United States. The effort in this research has been to carry out an investigation along three definite lines, with the purpose of ultimately determining what should be the policy of educators in the United States with reference to the facts relating to narcotic-drug addiction and the place of these facts in school curricula.

The three aspects of the investigation are as follows:

1. A research into the legal status or requirements relating to instruction in the various States
2. An inquiry into school practices throughout the country
3. An attempt to discover what school children know about drugs, and the source of their information

The first of these researches is quite enlightening and is summarized in the following table:

STATES REQUIRING NARCOTIC INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

Alcohol	44
Tobacco	4
Narcotic drugs	48
Stimulants	11
Public schools	47
Public elementary	47
Public high schools	42
Normal schools	41
Private schools	1
Teachers examinations	5
No requirement	1

It will be seen that, while a requirement that the effects of alcohol be taught is made specifically in forty-four States

and instruction regarding the use of stimulants is required in eleven States, every State in the Union requires that the nature and effects of narcotic drugs be taught in the public schools. Whether this is fortunate or unfortunate is not a matter to be dealt with here but it represents the *status quo;* namely, that every State in the Union requires by law that the nature and effect of the use of narcotic drugs be taught.

Also it will be noted that in forty-seven States the laws require that emphasis be placed upon the effect of narcotic drugs in elementary schools, forty-two in high schools, forty-one in normal schools, and in one case in private schools. Only one State makes no requirements. Five States require that teachers' examinations include questions relating to the nature and effect of narcotic drugs.

Not only is this required by State laws, but the response to a questionnaire shows that, of 704 questionnaires returned from 5,000 sent out, emphasis is actually placed upon the nature and effect of habit-forming drugs. The summary of these replies is as follows:

RÉSUMÉ OF RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO APPROXIMATELY FIVE THOUSAND SCHOOL PEOPLE

Questionnaire answered by:	
County superintendents	485
City superintendents	126
State superintendents	26
Colleges	5
Teacher-training colleges and normal schools	48
Questionnaires received without name or address	14
Total	704
1. Do you include instruction in the nature and effect of habit-forming drugs (other than alcohol and tobacco) in your curriculum?	
Yes	451
No	205
2. Check the divisions in which instruction is included:	
a) Senior high school	251
b) Junior high school	310
c) Grades	433

3. In what subject or subjects is the instruction included:

Hygiene	272
Physiology	247
Health	165
Biology	66
General science	60
Civics	19
Physical education	18
Citizenship	13
Sociology	11
Chemistry	9
Economics	8
Social science	6
Psychology	4
Character training	3
Athletics	2
Lectures	2
English	1
Nature study	1
General exercise	1
Dietetics	1
First aid	1
Industry and business	1
Problems of democracy	1

4. Has there been a discovery of the use of habit-forming drugs (other than alcohol and tobacco) among the school children in your city (school)?

No	658	Yes	7
Probably none	8	No report	31

It appears, therefore, from these data, that the educators of the country are actually beginning to take the problem of narcotic drugs seriously. Whether this emphasis should be given or whether any instruction should be included in the elementary or secondary curricula is a matter which may be partially determined through further research which is now in process.

In an attempt to discover what school children know about drugs and the sources of their information, a combined schedule and association test has been prepared and will be given to more than a thousand eleventh-grade students throughout the United States. An effort will be made to obtain a representative sampling by sending these

tests to every section of the country and by comparing results, as the tests are returned, to ascertain whether there are any significant differences between the different sections. *Enough of the test* is reproduced herewith to give the reader a clear understanding of its purpose and items of subject matter:

DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME

Dear Student:

We are making a nation-wide study to discover what young people know about certain foods, medicines, stimulants, and narcotics. Will you coöperate by answering the questions and filling in the blank spaces below?

WE DO NOT WANT YOU TO SIGN YOUR NAME, SO PLEASE BE FRANK IN TELLING WHAT YOU KNOW OR IN EXPRESSING YOUR OPINIONS.

We greatly appreciate your help in this study.

Sincerely yours,

Department of Educational Sociology
New York University, New York City

Section A

(This section of the test provides spaces for information regarding age, sex, etc.)

Section B

PLEASE READ THESE DIRECTIONS CAREFULLY:

Look at LINDBERGH'S name in Column I below. Write ONE IMPORTANT FACT about LINDBERGH in this column, then WRITE FRANKLY YOUR OPINION OF LINDBERGH, or what you think of him.

Can you remember all THE IMPORTANT WAYS IN WHICH YOU LEARNED THIS FACT OR FORMED THIS OPINION? Was it from a *newspaper*? From a *school textbook*? *Teacher*? Friend? Radio? Movie? In some other way? Will you mention all the ways you can by filling in the spaces opposite "LINDBERGH" in Column II? BE JUST AS CAREFUL AND EXACT AS YOU POSSIBLY CAN.

After "Lindbergh," the following terms are printed in Column I of the test, in the order given: tobacco, milk, cocaine, alcohol, heroin, soothing syrups, veronal, opium, marihuana, morphine, oranges, dope, hashish, narcotics,

Column I	Column II
Example: LINDBERGH (one important fact)	Were you taught this fact in school?
If you can't write a fact, underline "Uncertain" (or) "Don't know"	Write "Yes," "No," or "Uncertain" Tell briefly how you learned it: .... If you can't tell, underline "Uncertain" (or) "Don't know"
I hold this opinion about LINDBERGH:	Were you taught in school to hold this opinion?
If you can't write an opinion, underline "Uncertain" (or) "Have no opinion"	Write "Yes," "No," or "Uncertain" Tell briefly how you formed this opinion: .... If you can't tell, underline "Uncertain" (or) "Don't know"

Now turn the sheet and do the same for each of the other terms, "TOBACCO," "MILK," etc., taking them as they come.

If you can't fill in the spaces, underline as directed in the left margin, and also, if necessary, in the right margin.

PLEASE BE AS CAREFUL AND ACCURATE AS POSSIBLE. DON'T GUESS BUT TELL JUST WHAT YOU KNOW.

Ex Lax, codeine, laudanum, "sniffing snow," headache powders, and paregoric. There are twenty items altogether, excluding "Lindbergh," and of these twenty items only fifteen are regarded as relevant to the purposes of this investigation, since they relate, directly or indirectly, to habit-forming narcotic drugs as they are technically defined. Tobacco and alcohol are usually not classified as "narcotics" in the technical sense, for they do not commonly produce a complete depression of the central nervous system; therefore they are considered irrelevant in this test. The three other irrelevant items (there are five altogether) are Ex Lax, milk, and oranges. These five items are introduced for two reasons: first, to afford a basis for comparison; second, to conceal the purpose of the study. Since the test is designed partly to discover the student's opinions concerning narcotics, if this purpose were manifest he might immediately become biased.

A preliminary investigation has already been made in one of New York City's suburban communities where these tests have been given to one hundred students of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades. The results of this preliminary study will not only reveal the nature of the more extensive investigation which is now under way, but will also indicate several hypotheses to be tested as the study proceeds. A few of these results are presented below.

If the one hundred students in this preliminary investigation were familiar with each of the fifteen relevant items, they would be able to write 1500 statements. About one third of this number were actually written. The following table will show the number written for each item in the test:

Milk	99
Oranges	97
Alcohol	95
Tobacco	91
Dope	87
Cocaine	77

Ex Lax	63
Narcotics	59
Opium	55
Morphine	55
Headache Powders	38
Hashish	24
Soothing Syrups	21
Paregoric	18
Heroin	16
Sniffing Snow	15
Codeine	7
Veronal	5
Marihuana	3
Laudanum	1

Total for all items	926	(out of a possible 2000)
Total for 15 narcotic items	481	(out of a possible 1500)
Total for milk and oranges	196	(out of a possible 200)
Total for tobacco and alcohol	186	(out of a possible 200)
Total for Ex Lax	63	(out of a possible 100)

It is noteworthy that only 16 per cent of these one hundred students could write a statement about heroin, one of the most deadly of narcotics, and perhaps most prevalently used among drug addicts in the Eastern cities. The results in general, as revealed in the above table, indicate a wide unfamiliarity with narcotic terms as contrasted with tobacco and alcohol, which were, of course, familiar to virtually all of the students. A few of them failed to write about tobacco and alcohol doubtlessly because they felt unable to state an *important* fact.

Of the 481 alleged facts stated by these one hundred students, only 116, or about 25 per cent, were learned in school, indicating that the school in this community has slight relative influence in directing the student's learning of narcotics. Approximately 25 per cent of these 481 "facts" were judged by the writers to be accurate and spe-

cific; the others were either inaccurate, or indefinite in nature although accurate. Only approximately 21 per cent of those learned through classroom instruction were judged to be accurate and specific, and 30 per cent of those learned out of school.

The following will make clear what is meant by a "specific fact" as compared with a "general fact."

COCAINE

Specific Facts

(Taken from test materials)

1. Used by dentists when extracting teeth.
2. Used for operations as local anaesthetic.
3. It is a local anaesthetic.
4. It is a drug made from the coca plant.

General Facts

1. It is used as a dope.
2. Deadens pain.
3. It is a drug.
4. It is a drug and bad for your health.

It is difficult to judge the value of these general facts as compared with the specific, but it is assumed that general knowledge, even though it may be accompanied by right attitudes, is not so effective in promoting desirable behavior as specific knowledge accompanied by right attitudes. A very large proportion of those who gave specific facts also revealed intelligent opinions against the illegitimate use of narcotic habit-forming drugs; for example, for numbers 2 and 4 under specific facts above, we have these accompanying opinions:

Number 2. A useful thing for operations but harmful if used otherwise.

Number 4. It is both a useful and dangerous drug.

Of 1500 possible opinions from these one hundred students for the entire 15 narcotic items, slightly more than

25 per cent were stated. This may be attributed to either lack of knowledge or the possession of neutral attitudes (attitudes of indifference). About 20 per cent of these opinions were formed in school, and of the 323 negative opinions (opinions against these drugs) less than 25 per cent were formed as a result of school instruction, according to the student's statements. A very small proportion of these negative opinions were accompanied by specific knowledge. Out-of-school influences are about equal to school influences in determining student opinion of tobacco and alcohol, according to the students' statements. Therefore, in comparison with out-of-school agencies, the school has a much higher relative influence with tobacco and alcohol in this respect than with the 15 narcotic habit-forming drugs.

These results constitute valuable hypotheses for further investigation, and it is hoped that they may be tested adequately by the wider study involving several communities throughout the United States and a much larger number of students.

EDUCATION WITH REGARD TO NARCOTICS

RAYMOND SCHLEMMER

The consumption of the nervines (to use the modern and most generally correct technical term) obtained from opium, the coca leaf, and other natural or chemical substances, is increasing in proportions which their legitimate use in medicine and for other scientific purposes does not justify. It is now world-wide knowledge that their excessive production provides abundant material for supplying the pathological needs of drug addicts and for encouraging the propagation of the deadly habit. Regular consumers of narcotics can easily obtain them; they can carry out their vile work of proselytism—a tendency of addicts—without depriving themselves; and the enormous profits made by the traffickers through the illicit sale of narcotics encourage them to lead on with false promises all those who, being in pain, in depressed spirits, or being weak, restless, or perverted, seek relief, oblivion, excitement, or those "artificial heavens" described in an unhealthy type of literature. The number of drug addicts is continually increasing.

Well known are the disastrous effects of the immoderate use of these poisons on the individual, the family, and society; statistics clearly show how serious are the evils it causes, and its growth in all classes and in practically all countries is leading the world towards a danger which becomes daily more grave.

Public opinion—aroused by distressing examples of decadence and perversion, alarmed by scandalous revelations, and enlightened by individuals and associations whose humanitarian zeal has inspired them to fight against the evil —has disturbed the apathy of governments. Most of these bodies have taken steps to check the progress of the evil; but, unfortunately, their measures have so far proved

ineffective. The legislative and police regulations are soon (so it is at any rate hoped) to be strengthened, in spite of the clever and powerful opposition of both material and selfish interests.

It is not fitting here to discuss the measures proposed, but let us hope that those to be adopted will be efficacious, and that they will be strictly applied and produce the desired result. Those who genuinely wish success to the anti-narcotic campaign will do their best to see that this is so. But, without the coöperation of those who come under their authority, such laws are not all-powerful, and those who wish can easily manage to evade them. We must therefore teach the objects of these laws to those whom they are to protect, and point out the fact that, when not violated, they offer a positive advantage instead of the negative benefit of escaping penal regulations. If the fear of the police is the beginning of wisdom, then it is far from being perfect wisdom.

With a view, therefore, to the complete victory of civilization over the evil of which we are speaking, education has a very great part to play, as it has in all questions of reform with regard to a natural or acquired vice and of the future of humanity. But it is not sufficient merely to instruct children and young people in the dangers of narcotics. Adults too must be informed of them, and in view of the growing peril, the attention and vigilance of all must be kept keen.

But it is doubtless inadvisable to deal with narcotics in primary or secondary education—at least, in most national systems (such, it seems to us in Europe, is the opinion of educationists); there is hardly any country, with a developed system of public education in which children are exposed to temptations of the kind which give rise to drug addiction. To point out to them the harm, would merely confuse them; why talk to children on subjects of which they can have no notion nor even guess of their interest and importance—at any rate as regards material or practical

things? On the other hand, it might possibly arouse their curiosity—often only too eager, unfortunately—for knowledge of the forbidden fruit.

Except where children are in actual danger of the narcotic peril—that is to say, where it is in the immediate reality—it is better, I think, not to introduce the question in school or in religious classes. It is quite another matter as regards young men at the university or in advanced professional schools; these are in danger of being drawn into the drug habit; and they are capable of understanding the meaning and portent of what they are taught on this subject; they have arrived at an age when there is no longer any need for the master to be afraid of arousing in them an unhealthy curiosity, for they are already surrounded by demands of all sorts, amongst which they must learn to discriminate on their own responsibility and to recognize those which they ought to resist.

Dr. Payne has pointed out in a series of articles, and particularly in that one published recently in *Narcotic Education* (IV, 2, October, 1930), the need, the expediency—and at the same time the difficulty—of reaching students and their contemporaries of all types. Organizations such as the World Conference on Narcotic Education and its affiliated institutions, the International Narcotic Education Association, and the World Narcotic Defense Association, include in their program the distribution of wholesome information on the evil of drugs, and they aim at imparting this knowledge systematically amongst the youth of universities, higher professional schools, welfare agencies, study circles, and sports clubs. They endeavor also to make known the dangers of drug addiction to as many leaders and members of the public as possible. This work of distributing information is part of the universal education necessary to assure the essential resistive efforts of the individual, with the help of the social prohibitive measures in force.

But special instruction on the dangers of narcotics is not

sufficient. If the increase of drug addiction is itself an evil, it is also more the sign of a deeper, more serious, and more general evil. Our day is marked by a great lack of character and an unrestrained desire for pleasure. Man is afraid of pain and the effort of self-discipline.

Statistics show that a considerable proportion of drug addicts are doctors and male and female nurses, which is a clear proof that even in the science itself of the villainous effects of drugs there it not immunity from yielding to their allurements. No one is in a better position than they to understand and mistrust them. If they fall, it is not through ignorance; it is surely because, owing to their profession, most of them are led to consider suffering as an enemy to be overcome, and are accustomed to employ remedies to remove it.

Pain is a gift. Providence has desired its existence for imperfect humanity; Christ sanctified it, and by His life, His passion, and His death, has proved its redeeming value. It is a warning given to man when he violates natural and divine laws; if he pays attention to its first signs, he may often be able to reform his mode of living and avoid any aggravation; he will welcome it then as a timely signal, and instead of attempting to silence artificially this valuable warning note, will seek a means of preventing himself from ever necessitating its need again.

Pain is also a law against which it is useless to kick, for, in avoiding that which natural justice inflicts upon us, we merely postpone the penalty; in imagining ourselves exempt from punishment, we aggravate our follies; and the more our debt increases, the more we must suffer in order to liquidate it.

By pain man atones for sins against nature and against God—that is to say, his own sins and those of the society in which he lives, as well as those of his forefathers; if he were reasonable, he would welcome it as a deliverer.

The responsibility of parents towards children is tremendous; the Bible pronounces this clearly in the very be-

ginning of the Law: "Hear, O Israel . . . I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments." How can we fail to recognize here the rule of hereditary sin, which begets sin and finally destroys itself, and of good, which perpetuates itself to eternity? Only by leading healthy and moral lives will men build up vigorous and prosperous nations, able to surmount difficulties, resist temptations, rise above failures, and acquire a horror of vice. It is by example that the older generation can influence youth, and the cultivated educate the more simple.

It is necessary, therefore, while still struggling against the individual aspects of these evils, which are manifestations of a more widespread danger, to go very much further and not be content with suppressing the symptoms, but rather seek out the causes and endeavor to find a cure for the great evil.

No one will deny that narcotics can be of use in therapeutics; but only in exceptional cases—when a relieving medicine of some kind is essential. Their value, however, is always counterbalanced by the fact that the patient is allowed to escape for the moment from wholesome pain. In my opinion, little value is attached to the argument, often put forward by the opponents of limitation in the production of narcotics, that it might cause a certain stinting of the supply required for medicine. It would be better from all points of view were they to be less used in therapeutics, than that they should be supplied in excess, even though strict control be exercised over their distribution. The common use of narcotics, even when not clandestine, is an abuse; we must not get accustomed to expelling pain like a dreadful, wicked, and useless intruder, nor to avoiding it artificially.

We must bring ourselves to accept it rather than fear it; and, in order to teach children to endure it, educationists

must aim at warning them against the facilities which material progress will offer them for ridding themselves of it without any just reason. They must be made to realize that suffering removed by fallacious methods will only return later in a more serious—if not more violent—form; that weakness is very much less likely than courage to deliver us from our troubles; that it is by living according to natural and divine laws that we avoid suffering or meet it without aversion and with strength to bear it and benefit by it.

Prevention is better than cure. It is important to annihilate the causes rather than to mitigate the effects of an ill. Drug addiction may be considered as a particularly characteristic reflection of the moral weakness of our time. Let us then note well its effects, and make use of the concrete knowledge it provides and the very visible examples before us of the results of the decadency towards which our civilization seems to be heading; so that we may show to those whom we wish to guide the need for acquiring the forgotten virile qualities and for loyally confronting effort and pain—the fatal results of wrong practices, instead of hopelessly attempting to escape.

ULTRA-VIOLET RAYS AND DRUGS

A. J. PACINI

Every one has heard of quinine. It is the active alkaloid extracted from the cinchona bark. The reputation of cinchona bark for the cure of fever was at an early period known to the Spanish Jesuits. When the Countess of Cinchon, wife of the Viceroy of Peru, fell ill with fever, the bark was administered to her, and speedily effected a cure. Its wonderful properties soon became known, and in 1638 its reputation spread throughout Spain under the name of Jesuits' bark. For many years the ground bark, mixed with port wine, was a favorite medicine. In the course of time, however, it became known that the principal ingredient in the bark responsible for the cure of fever (malaria) was the alkaloid quinine. The demand for this drug constantly increased. The South American forests were invaded for the bark and were soon devastated. New sources of supply were urgently sought. Chemists everywhere began their attempts to produce quinine synthetically. So far, all such attempts have failed; although in the course of the experimenting, some entirely new synthetic drugs have been furnished to the world, notably antipyrin.

Quinine behaves mysteriously in the presence of light. To begin with, its solutions in water fluoresce blue in the presence of sunshine, the fluorescence being due mainly to the shorter rays of light. Herschel and Stokes studied this action minutely and gave much impetus to the general topic of fluorescence because of their painstaking work. Forensically, the ability of quinine solutions to fluoresce, particularly the sulphate, still forms one of the more important means of detecting the alkaloid. Also, when plane polarized light is sent through a solution of quinine, it is veered to the left, the alkaloid being levorotatory, like the invert sugar of honey.

When a solution of quinine is exposed to ultra-violet rays, its behavior towards polarized light is changed. Such an exposed solution of quinine no longer rotates light to the left; instead, it rotates to the right. Examination of the transformed product at this point shows it to be another alkaloid, quinidine, which is sparingly present naturally in cinchona bark together with quinine. Physiologically, quinidine is much less powerful than is quinine as a febrifuge. Continued exposure of ultra-violet rays finally dissipates the quinidine which was obtained from the quinine, and there results now an acid solution due probably to cinchonic acid. At any rate, the acid solution is entirely free from febrifuge effect. Ultra-violet rays have lessened the physiological activity of quinine, and have transformed it optically from a compound which originally rotated the plane of polarized light to the left to one which rotates it to the right. This is called optical isomerism, and many drugs that are highly active in one isomeric state are converted by ultra-violet rays into the less active and opposite optical isomeric form. Adrenalin, the blood-pressure raising principle, is another example of a drug which behaves quite similarly to quinine under the action of the rays. There are a group of drugs, then, that change their optical form when exposed to ultra-violet rays; and in so doing, they either lose characteristic physiological action, or at least it becomes greatly attenuated.

Belladonna is a popular drug. At one time the purposeful chewing of the leaves from the belladonna shrub was indulged in by women seeking greater beauty—in particular, actresses. The noticeable effect of the habit was the marked dilatation of the pupils of the eyes. By this action the entire expression of the face was transformed by imparting a softness and gentleness to the sparkling eyes. Probably the shrub got its name, belladonna (beautiful woman), from this characteristic. The alkaloid to which all of this physiological effect is due is called atropine. Fitters of eye glasses use atropine considerably.

When atropine is dissolved in water, it produces an inodorous and colorless solution. If this solution is exposed to ultra-violet rays, the color of the solution becomes yellowish; but more important, an exquisitely delicate tuberose like odor is developed, rivaling the most cherished perfume.

It is commonly well known that odorous substances are remarkable in their strength. By strength is meant the minuteness of the quantity of the material which can produce the sensation of smell. Certain odorous principles, like musk, have a perceptible odor in such minute quantities as one two-billionth of a single grain; an amount so small that no chemist could possibly detect its presence. Yet, the sense of smell can detect and identify this infinitesimal speck.

The tuberose odor developed by atropine when exposed to ultra-violet rays is a useful property. Not only does it furnish a delightful perfume, but it serves the chemist as a means of detecting very small amounts of atropine. Thus, if the tiniest fragment of powder suspected of containing atropine is mixed with water and placed under a rich source of ultra-violet rays, such as a mercury vapor lamp in quartz, the development of the odor quickly and surely identifies the alkaloid. Iso-eugenol, a drug derived from oil of cloves, acquires a vanilla odor when similarly treated. Indeed, iso-eugenol becomes vanillin under the action of ultra-violet rays. There is another group of drugs, then, including atropine, iso-eugenol and the like, which respond to ultra-violet rays by becoming odorous compounds.

Mischievous school children, sometimes others, wander into the "trick" shop and purchase sneeze powders with which to play pranks. Such sneeze powders contain a mixture of alkaloids collectively called veratrine. Veratrine is an intense local irritant. Rubbed on the skin, it produces at first a pink blush, later an eruption. The skin also becomes numb, and it tingles. Sniffed into the nose, a violent attack of sneezing at once begins and persists

until the last trace of veratrine is expelled. It is this sternutatory action of veratrine that invokes its offensive and loathsome use by pranksters.

Veratrine curiously affects the muscles of the body. When administered in fairly large amounts, it causes an extraordinary prolongation of the contraction of the skeletal muscles.

At least two changes are observed in veratrine that has been exposed to ultra-violet rays; the sneeze-eliciting property is lost, and the muscle response is more nearly normal. To a lesser degree, the benumbing and tingling of the skin is no longer sensed. Veratrine is completely denatured by treatment with the rays. The change in the muscular action of veratrine deserves study, as it may throw some light of a helpful nature on the synthesis of drugs that can react on skeletal muscles. Such drugs are rare and would probably be much desired by physicians.

By no means do ultra-violet rays invariably deprive certain drug materials of their characteristic activity. There are instances quite to the contrary, where inactive substances take on a most remarkable property. Such an example is that of ergosterol, obtained from ergot.

Ergot, as is known, is produced in considerable quantity in the sunny regions of Spain. Ergot represents the hard, resting condition of a fungus, Claviceps purpurea, which is parasitic on the pistils of many members of the grass family, but is obtained almost exclusively from rye. There may be extracted from ergot a fat-like material called ergosterol, a material which has only recently won considerable attention because of its singular physiological potentiality. However much rye pistils are exposed to the blazing Spanish sunshine, the ergosterol extracted from the sun-bathed sclerotium is physiologically inert. It passes through the digestive tract without apparent change. But if, after once extracted from the sclerotium, the ergosterol is now exposed to sunlight, even though for the briefest period of time, it acquires the property of preventing and

of curing rickets. So potent is this action that the barest trace of exposed ergosterol, rivaling the highest dilution of homeopathic practititoners of medicine, is pronouncedly effective in its cure.

At first thought, recalling the properties of the ultra-violet rays of sunshine which are thought by many to be alone responsible for the transformation of ergosterol from inactive to antiricketically active material, it may be conjectured that the heavy coloring matter accompanying the ergosterol in the sclerotium acts as a protective shield obstructing the shorter ultra-violet rays of the sun. If this were so, then a simple experiment would suffice as proof. Suppose the ergosterol be extracted from the rye. Suppose some of the coloring matter of the sclerotium, a purplish pigment, be similarly extracted. Suppose now that the pigment and the ergosterol be mixed. Obviously the exposure of this material to sunlight should remain unaltered, if the pigment truly protects the ergosterol. But actual experiments have proved otherwise. Indeed, the effect of adding the pigment to the ergosterol is that of enhancing the effect of sunlight for now, instead of sunlight remaining inactive, it is found that the same quality and quantity of sunlight actually transforms more of the ergosterol to its antiricketic constituent. The pigment has acted as a sensitizer, much like the dyes that are used to bathe the photographic plate in order that the emulsion may respond more rapidly to light. Clearly, the pigment is not a screen against effective rays. If anything, it fosters the transformation of inactive to active ergosterol, but only outside of the plant.

Present-day imitations of cod-liver oil are prepared by irradiating ergosterol with synthetic sunshine and dissolving the product in an agreeable oil, like peanut oil. It is correct to say "imitation cod-liver oil," because activated ergosterol only imitates what cod-liver oil can do. For example, irradiated ergosterol, like cod-liver oil, splendidly cures rickets in rats; but different from cod-liver oil,

the imitation is very much less effective in curing rickets in chicks. Too, cod-liver oil contains other vitamins, such as vitamin A, which assist the action of the rickets-curing component (called vitamin D); and these additional properties are as yet missing from the synthetic.

This raises an interesting point: the drugs mentioned so far are all products of plants where they have been formed by the indirect action of photosynthesis. Photosynthesis depends largely upon chlorophyll for its success. Of course, such terms as photosynthesis and chlorophyll are by no means explanatory. They remind one of Ruskin's subtle jibes at scientific nomenclature, recorded in his *Queen of the Air*, in 1869: "When I want to know why a leaf is green, they tell me it is colored by 'chlorophyll,' which at first sounds very instructive; but if they would only say plainly that a leaf is colored green by a thing which is called 'green leaf,' we should see more precisely how far we had got." Too often, even scientists are stopped with a name, overlooking entirely the singular truth that merely to name a thing or a process by no means explains it.

Now, photosynthesis is involved directly with the manufacture of rather simple substances, like the most elemental sugars and starch. If it is related at all to the manufacture of the highly complex drugs it is thought that the relation is most indirect. But we have just seen that ultra-violet rays, which are abundant in bright sunlight, modify the very drugs that are removed from the plant in which they have been exposed to actinic rays. Obviously, the plant seems to take on a new rôle. Not only does it produce simple compounds by the intermingling of the gases of the air, the moisture from the soil, and the sunlight of the day; and from these simple compounds, by agencies other than light, not only does it produce very complex substances which we recognize in part as drugs; but having produced these substances, it protects them from sunlight so that they may not be altered or decomposed.

Another of the many fascinating effects of ultra-violet rays is to be found on tobacco. Tobacco, next to salt, is supposed by some to be the article most extensively consumed by man. When the weed first reached England, King James opposed it by his *Counterblaste to Tobacco*. Pope Urban the Eighth issued a papal bull against it. Russia legislated that the knout be the penalty for the first offence, death for the second offence. Everywhere opposition and persecution were levelled against the use of the plant. It seems that opposition and persecution merely excited more general attention to tobacco, awakened curiosity in respect to it, and tempted all the more people to try its effects. It is seldom that prohibition prohibits.

There are many varieties of tobacco plants, but they all begin from a seed smaller than the head of a pin. If the seeds are tested for nicotine, which is the principal but by no means the only alkaloid in tobacco, they are found to be completely devoid of the drug.

Suppose the seeds be sprinkled on a moistened blotting paper and, in a moist condition, kept at an even, ordinary temperature in a photographic dark room. After some six or seven days they sprout. After about three weeks, the sprouts are some one-quarter inch in length and are topped with tiny, green leaves. Remember, the seeds have sprouted in the absence of any light, even artificial light. If they are now tested, the sprouts are found to contain nicotine. From hence on, whether light reaches the sprouts or not, the amount of nicotine in the plant steadily increases. For a given variety of tobacco plant, grown in a known location, it is possible to tell with considerable accuracy the very age of the plant itself merely by determining its nicotine content. Thus, nicotine is apparently not dependent upon the presence of light for its appearance in the tobacco plant. We know that in tobacco fields where the plants are purposely under shade covers, the nicotine content is not appreciably different from similar plants grown in open sunlight.

A green tobacco leaf is useless in its original form. Before it can be consumed, it must undergo a "cure." Tobacco curing is a process of gradual starvation, so timing the starvation that the death of the leaf shall occur only after definite starvation changes have first appeared. If a green leaf is first killed, and then a cure attempted, it merely rots. Ultra-violet light has an entirely different effect on the green leaf as compared with the effect that it produces on the properly cured leaf. Since we shall concern ourselves entirely with the changes sustained by nicotine, we may first profitably examine what happens to nicotine when this is exposed to ultra-violet rays. Opposite to quinine, solutions of nicotine as it is obtained from its natural source rotate the plane of polarized light to the right. If nicotine is prepared synthetically, which was first accomplished by Pictet and Rotschy, it either has no optical property or it rotates polarized light to the left. The optically inactive forms of nicotine, as well as the form which rotates to the left, are not as violent in their poisonous effect as natural nicotine. Nicotine is one of the deadliest poisons known, being rivaled only by hydrocyanic-acid gas in the rapidity of its action.

When a solution of nicotine is exposed to ultra-violet rays a number of intricate changes take place. After very prolonged exposure, all of the nicotine has disappeared to become replaced by an acid, nicotinic acid, which is believed by some to be identified with the growth-promoting vitamin B. At this stage of exposure, the solution is no longer poisonous, it having been completely detoxified by the action of the light. However, much before the nicotine becomes nicotinic acid, the toxicity of the solution is diminished. It is probable that a series of intermediate products are formed, some of them very closely resembling nicotine except for their lack of toxicity.

Only a part of the nicotine found in tobacco is present in a more or less "free" state. The largest portion seems to be combined with common organic acids like malic and

citric. In fact, tobacco leaves contain a higher percentage of malic (apple) acid than is contained in apples, and a higher percentage of citric acid than is contained in citrous fruits, especially the lemon. Incidentally, tobacco leaves also contain a higher percentage of oxalic acid than is found in sorrel leaves or in rhubarb. The malate and the citrate of nicotine are not readily volatile and are easily burned. During the actual burning of the tobacco much of the nicotine is consumed in the combustion. But the loosely combined or "free" nicotine is highly volatile; so much so that the heat of the burning portion of the tobacco suffices to vaporize the "free" nicotine. The vapor is aspirated into the mouth during the puffing of the smoke. It is to this small trace of escapable nicotine that tobacco exerts such harms as are accredited to this alkaloid. Fortunately, not only is this amount quite small, but the human organism is endowed with a mechanism which seemingly makes the individual more and more tolerant to increasing amounts of nicotine.

If a green tobacco leaf is exposed to ultra-violet rays, it is almost instantaneously killed. In this killing, the nicotine remains unaltered, and the leaf is no longer suitable for curing and for smoking. But the case is different when a cured tobacco leaf is exposed to ultra-violet rays. Relatively brief exposures attack the "free" nicotine and detoxify it completely. At this stage the exposed tobacco leaf contains its original amount of combined nicotine and contains its small trace of "free" nicotine in a changed, detoxified form. Obviously, smoking the leaf at this stage is fraught with less danger than is the case of an untreated tobacco. However, if after the "free" nicotine has been detoxified, the tobacco is still more exposed to ultra-violet rays, it again acquires its original toxicity; for ultra-violet rays now attack the combined nicotine, at first splitting it away from the malic and citric acids to which it is attached. This splitting results in the accumulation of more "free" nicotine, and the original harmfulness returns to the

tobacco. If the exposure is continued still longer, the same cycle of changes as are originally observed are repeated; the newly formed "free" nicotine is detoxified and only combined nicotine remains. So, the exposure of cured tobacco to ultra-violet rays results in the alternate detoxification and retoxification of the product as measured by the amount of "free" nicotine that is transformed and re-formed.

This cycle of events is somewhat characteristic of the action of ultra-violet rays on many substances. Sometimes the cycles alternate through many repetitions; at other times the cycles are few. The cycle of detoxification and retoxification of tobacco can be repeated innumerable times; but in the case of ergosterol, which was mentioned above, the situation is quite different. Here, the inactive ergosterol becomes antiricketic after a given exposure to the ultra-violet rays; but if the exposure is prolonged, the antiricketic material loses its activity, and the cycle ends since the lost activity is never again reimparted to the ergosterol no matter how long the exposure is continued.

There is hardly a drug that is not in some way influenced by exposure to ultra-violet rays. The general tendency of the light is to reduce the toxicity and split the product into simpler components. On the other hand, exceptions are found in those materials which respond to ultra-violet by acquiring a new and oftentimes startling physiological effect. Needless to say, the alkaloids such as strychnine, morphine, and cocaine in addition to the ones already mentioned have been studied attentively. But other products like the glucosides and active principles characteristic of the numerous plants used medicinally are also photolyzed under light. In many instances the response of the product to ultra-violet rays is not the same when the product is in the plant as it is when the product is outside of the plant; but in quite a few cases, judicious exposure to ultra-violet light can effect profound changes in the narcotic properties of the so-called narcotic plant.

Narcotic plants, as they are called, are still widely and abundantly used. Their consumption constitutes a huge economic problem with many far-reaching tributaries. Just why narcotic plants have been used to solace the mind and the body of man, if they produce solace, is difficult to account for. But among the many scientific uses of ultra-violet rays, the possibility of denaturing the narcotics looms up to assume practical proportions. If such denaturing proves successful, the use of the narcotic will be transformed into a symbol which, probably, may be sufficient to appease the human urge that calls narcotics into general use for nonmedical purposes; but the use of the symbol will not be attended with the harmful risk of mental and physical disability to which the human frame is exposed by this form of abuse.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL *may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

RESEARCHES OF THE COMMITTEE ON DRUG ADDICTION

In 1921 the Committee on Drug Addictions, a small group of seven persons, was organized to investigate narcotic addiction with a view to suggesting rational preventive and control measures.[1] It has been in existence for some ten years and has been financed by the Bureau of Social Hygiene. It has devoted itself entirely to research. Two lines of investigation were followed; one, involving the study of the individual drug-user; the second, a study of the social aspects of the problem. A bibliography of seven thousand titles was collected and a report on *The Opium Problem* was published in 1928.[2]

The Committee has continued its investigations by subsidizing laboratory research on the effects of drugs on animals; by making clinical studies of human beings during periods of addiction, withdrawal, and abstinence; and by carrying out medical and sociological field studies in various American communities. The findings of the Committee along these lines have been published from time to time in scientific journals and the results of the field studies have been published in pamphlet form by the Committee during 1930.

The general position of the Committee has been that "more fact and less opinion was needed for an understanding of the many and varied aspects of the problems involved in the use and misuse of narcotic drugs."

[1] The work of this committee is described in the 1929 Social Work Yearbook (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), page 148.

[2] *See* Dr. Charles E. Terry and Mildred F. Pellens, *The Opium Problem* (New York: Bureau of Social Hygiene, 1928).

American White Cross Association on Drug Addiction

In April 1930, the Committee on Drug Addictions of New York was merged with the American White Cross Anti-Narcotic Association to form the American White Cross Association on Drug Addiction, the national office to be in Seattle, Washington, with possible administrative or bureau offices in New York and other cities. The purpose of the former White Cross Association has been largely to educate the public to certain points of view with regard to the eradication of the illegitimate use of drugs. The merger has been accomplished in order to give the scientific backing of the New York Committee to the educational and propaganda work of the White Cross Association and to make further research along the human lines. The New York Committee gains by making its research findings and experience useful to an agency engaged in promoting a practical program. A committee of the new Board of Directors will take up the matter of organizing a research bureau.

The purposes of the new assocation are stated in the articles of incorporation as follows:

1. "The study and promotion of repression and ultimate prevention of the preparation, distribution, and use of narcotic drugs, except for medical and scientific purposes."
2. "The promotion of scientific investigation of the nature and effect of narcotic drugs."
3. "The encouragement, and establishment, when deemed necessary, of institutions, laboratories, or other agencies for making and demonstrating the practical application of information acquired through research."
4. "The promulgation of useful, scientific, and sociological information for community, State, and federal benefit."
5. "The study of rehabilitation of drug addicts."

6. "The advocacy of farms, clinics, hospitals, or other institutions as may be deemed desirable for the rehabilitation of addicts."
7. "The combating, through special national and international measures, of all illegal and injurious uses of narcotic drugs."
8. "Such other activities as may be related to these general purposes."

The organization is governed by a board of directors composed of not more than 85 members, 36 of whom are elected at large, the remaining number to be chosen not more than one from each of the 48 States and the District of Columbia. The board of directors elect an executive committee of seven members including the president and secretary ex-officio.

National Research Council Studies

The Division of Medical Sciences of the National Research Council set up a special committee on January 1, 1929, for a three-year study of morphine with reference to its chemical and pharmological properties. The reports of this study have not as yet been published.

Narcotic Education in American Public Schools

The problem in this investigation[8] may be stated as follows:

1. To ascertain what efforts are made in narcotic instruction throughout the United States according to the testimony of school superintendents and other school administrators
2. To discover what knowledge of narcotics is possessed by high-school juniors throughout the United States
3. To determine the source or sources of this knowledge
4. To discover the nature and source of opinions concerning narcotics held by high-school juniors throughout the United States

[8]This study is being carried on by J. L. Archer under the auspices of the department of educational sociology of New York University.

An inquiry has already been sent to five thousand school administrators chosen at random throughout the United States for the purpose of learning the nature of attempts at narcotic education, the specific subjects in which narcotic information is taught, etc. A test and questionnaire is now being prepared for high-school juniors with the assumption that results obtained from these eleventh-grade students will be fairly representative of attempts at narcotic instruction in both the elementary and secondary levels. These tests will be distributed at random to various schools throughout the country and will be given to students with the view of obtaining as accurate and objective results as possible. The results will be classified, statistically treated, and interpreted in a treatise which will probably be published when completed.

Public-Health-Service Studies

Two studies embodying further observation on the epidemiology of narcotics and drug addiction have been reported by W. L. Treadway, surgeon, Chief of Narcotics Division, United States Public Health Service.[4] These studies were made in coöperation with the Deputy Commissioner of Prohibition in charge of the enforcement of narcotic laws. The information was obtained directly from the field and embraced certain individual and social data on each violator. These studies deal with 432 reported violations for July 1929, and 2,407 violations reported for the four-month period beginning July 1, 1929, and ending October 31, 1929. They deal with the percentages of registered and unregistered cases; the distribution of the unregistered cases; the charges in each case made by sex; the ages in five-year periods of male and female addicts by color; the birthplace of addicts and their parents; the education of addicts and the age when leaving school; the uses of alcohol by addicts; the age at which addiction was established; the kinds of drugs used, dosage, and the

[4]The first of these is contained in Public Health Reports, November 8, 1929, pages 2702-2704. The second is in the issue of March 14, 1930, pages 541 and 553.

method of administering drugs; the reasons given by addicts for the use of drugs; and the number of treatments taken for addiction.

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE (NEW YORK) STUDY OF ADDICTS

In November, 1927, the Mayor's Committee on Drug Addiction was appointed to study the subject in the City of New York and to make recommendations. This was done at the instance of Commissioner of Correction Richard C. Patterson, Jr., who was confronted with the treatment of fifteen hundred addicts annually in his department. Previous to his administration there had been no systematic or uniform method of handling these cases in departmental divisions. This committee was composed of Dr. Alexander Lambert, Chairman, and Drs. Stanley R. Benedict, Menas S. Gregory, William R. Williams, Thomas A. McGoldrick, Israel Strauss, Linsly R. Williams, and George B. Wallace, with two advisory members.[5]

The primary purpose of this study was to establish a satisfactory method of treatment for the withdrawal period of drug addiction, but in addition to obtain information on the physical and mental status of the drug addict and to investigate the possibilities of rehabilitation.

A total of three hundred and eighteen addicts were studied in a ward of the psychopathic division of the Bellevue Hospital under the direction of a full-time medical staff consisting of Dr. Charles Schultz, assistant alienist at Bellevue Hospital, and assistants, together with carefully selected nurses and keepers. The men studied were committed voluntarily by a city magistrate. This study continued approximately one year. The committee held weekly conferences on these cases and daily rounds were made by its members. A case record was made of each case, including a full history and physical examination, a psychologic grading, routine laboratory tests, and, in certain cases, extensive blood analyses. The symptoms occurring in the

[5]The report of the Mayor's Committee was reprinted in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of October 26, 1929.

hospital and the results of treatment were recorded in detail.

Space here does not permit recounting the findings of this committee. It may be interesting to note, however, that of the 318 addicts studied, 83 per cent admitted criminal records. About half of these were arrested because of the possession of narcotics and the remainder had records of conviction on such charges as larceny, burglary, assault, carrying concealed weapons, and homicide. "Of the group, 230 had received a public-school and 64 a high-school education, while 18 had attended college. Six had not had any schooling." Heroin was the drug commonly employed, being used by 263 addicts. Morphine was taken by 31, while only 4 used cocaine. All but 39 of this group had received previous treatments to cure the habit. More than half the group had taken the cure four times or more.

The conclusions of the committee with regard to treatment during withdrawal may be summarized under four headings.

1. "None of the substances forming the basis of the so-called specific cures for drug addiction bring about amelioration or shortening of the withdrawal symptoms."

2. "Depressants of the central nervous system are ineffective or not practical as substitutes for opium derivatives."

3. "The quickest and simplest method of stopping the addiction is that of abrupt withdrawal of the narcotic taken." This should only be administered in cases where patients have no serious organic degeneration or disease, are not of advanced age, and are not suffering from marked malnutrition.

4. "The most humane form of treatment is that of giving progressively decreasing doses of morphine." This is recommended for all patients whose general condition does not warrant abrupt withdrawal.

In regard to rehabilitation, the committee concludes that "no form of treatment for the withdrawal of addiction to

narcotics is in itself capable of stopping the craving for the drug." "The real problem is that of ridding the addict of his habit permanently or at least over a long period of time."

The committee enunciates such basic principles as follows:

"The end in view is to bring about an adjustment of the addict to an environment which allows him to maintain his self-respect and become of use to the community; in other words, to end his being a continued expense and even a menace to the city and make him a self-supporting, productive citizen." In order that this may be accomplished the committee recommends vocational training and placement and supervised probation over a period of years. The staff for carrying out such a program must be superior and must include social workers for follow-up work. The location of the institution in which cures are to be administered should be chosen to avoid the possibility of smuggling in drugs and should avoid the appearance of a prison. Control of the behavior of the addict must be vested in the institution during the period of commitment which be of sufficient length to enable a completed cure. Owing to the expense involved, it is recommended that the City of New York coöperate with some outside group which has a rehabilitation scheme on its program.

New York Narcotic Survey Committee

The New York Narcotic Survey Committee was organized in June 1929, under the chairmanship of Charles H. Tuttle, then United States District Attorney for New York City, with John I. Cotter, Chief Clerk of the Court of Special Sessions for New York, as executive secretary. The committee includes a number of the New York judges, City officials, and others interested in the narcotic problem. It is making reports to President Hoover's National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement.

The first report of the Committee submitted early in 1929 dealt with drug peddling.[6] It consisted of a study of the past records of all persons arrested for such offenses during the second quarter of 1928, made in coöperation with the Narcotic Bureau of the New York City Police Department. One hundred persons were arrested during this period for the illegal sale of drugs. Fifty-two per cent of these had formerly been convicted of felonies and fifty had been arrested previously from five to seventeen times. Seventy-seven persons of the one hundred had a total of 360 previous misdemeanors and convictions. A study of the social and economic backgrounds of these drug sellers would be interesting.

The second report of the Committee dealt with the 563 cases of the noncriminal type of drug addicts treated in a private hospital.[7] The study dealt with the following points:

1. Etiology
2. Duration
3. Industrial activities and employment
4. Ages
5. Recidivism
6. Drug use leading to addiction

The third report of the Survey Committee was made in December 1929. It included a study of 550 cases of drug addiction, 417 males and 133 females, from the records of the Metropolitan Hospital of the City of New York covering a period from January 1927 to July 1929. The Metropolitan Hospital on Welfare Island is the institution provided by the City with a special division for care and treatment of drug addicts of the noncriminal type. This study was undertaken to establish facts with regard to addiction and its relationship to public-hospital treatment for purposes of comparison with private-hospital treatment studied in the previous report.

[6] This is summarized in The Panel for June, 1929.
[7] Reported in *Narcotic Education*, October 1929, pages 27-29.

The fourth report of the Committee was made in the fall of 1930 and covered the criminal records of 832 cases, 732 males and 200 females, treated for drug addiction at the Correction Hospital of the City of New York, from March 1927 to June 1928. This does not include the most dangerous male addicts who were treated in the medical division of the State Penitentiary. The chief purpose of this investigation was "to ascertain the extent of the criminal and antisocial histories of convicted and committed addicts."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Opium Problem, by CHARLES E. TERRY and MILDRED PELLENS. New Jersey: The Haddon Craftsmen, 1928, 928 pages.

In 1921 the Committee on Drug Addiction of the Bureau of Social Hygiene was organized for the purpose of undertaking research into the general problem of drug addiction, its nature, its causes, and the procedures best suited to its ultimate solution. This event, the appointment of the Committee, marked a new era in the attempt to solve what has come to be a complex and vexing problem.

The appointment of this Committee for research purposes marked a new era because of the beginning of a scientific approach to the study and control of opium and the treatment of drug addicts in contrast to the emotional approach characteristic of previous efforts. This Committee undertook to discover answers to the following questions:

1. a) What is the extent of the chronic use of opium and its derivatives?
   b) What causative factors were involved?
2. What is the etiology of chronic opium intoxication?
3. What is the nature of chronic opium intoxication?
4. How should this condition be treated?
5. How may the problem of chronic opium intoxication be solved?

There have appeared numerous statements as to the number of drug addicts in the United States, ranging all the way from 200,000 to 2,000,000. This Committee cast aside these undocumented statements and set out to determine, from all the data available, the approximate number of addicts and the seriousness of the problem. The care and conservatism with which the investigation was carried on is indicated in a statement relating to the extent of drug addiction.

> Whatever their inaccuracies, these surveys and estimates indicate sufficiently clearly the existence of a major medico-social problem to make the denial of the existence of a general situation far more dangerous than its affirmation. As a matter of fact, it is not necessary to know the exact number of users or even the minimal extent, to realize that there are a large number in the country and that the problem is serious.

The same care in evaluating data is shown in suggestions relative to control of opium usage when the authors say:

> Here have been recorded explanations varying from the vicious, deliberate habit theory to the extreme of the combinations in between. This is fundamentally a matter for accu-

> rate determination, as at least one essential preliminary to any plan for complete solution. Yet there is not a single variety of view which from the evidence adduced is so well supported or so thoroughly demonstrated to be correct as not to admit of doubts in the minds of any who might attempt to base thereon a program purporting rationally to solve the problem. In other words, certain of the fundamentals for the solution of the problems comprised in chronic opium intoxication are either not known or not sufficiently well-established to permit an unbiased advocacy of any single method of procedure.

This book represents the most elaborate body of data so far gathered and is indispensable to the student of the opium problem. However, it is more than a source book of facts. It is a book that serves a wide function in acquainting the layman with the status of the drug problem and is superior, for the educator, to all other books published. It should be available for every teacher responsible for the education of children.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

Opium, by JOHN PALMER GAVIT. New York: Brentano's, 1927, 251 pages.

Opiate Addiction, by EDWARD HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, 186 pages.

The average individual thinks of drug addiction as something quite remote from the life of everyday people and of opium as associated with the Chinese underworld of New York City, Chicago, or San Francisco as represented on the modern stage.

As a matter of fact the drug problem has become one of paramount importance and one that is now beginning to arouse wide popular interest. This interest is evidenced by the publication of numerous periodicals and books which have appeared in the last few years.

The first of these books under review, *Opium,* by John Palmer Gavit, was inspired by the first and second Geneva Conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations and is designed for the lay reader. Its purpose is to bring together the essential facts of the history, nature, production, and sale of the opiate products together with a discussion of the first and second Geneva Conferences. The book is written in a clear style and is neatly bound and attractive. The layman or teacher who wishes to become familiar with the essential facts of opium as a drug, and the fundamental nature of the opium problem, will be rewarded by reading this book.

The second work, *Opiate Addiction,* by Dr. Williams, is written with equal simplicity but is more technical in character and deals with the

nature and treatment of opiate addicts. The book was written to present a solution of the problem by the efficient control of drug distribution and the treatment of addicts. The history of drug distribution and addiction since the first appearance of this book has been a sordid one of the rapid spread of illicit sale and of the increasing number of addicts so that the discussion presented in 1922 seems out of date. However, the book presents valuable information for the teacher and layman and should be added to the reference library of every teacher.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

Traffic on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs with Respect to the Philippine Islands. Washington: United States Treasury Department, 15 pages.

The data presented in this bulletin cover the six months' period from July 1 to December 31, 1928, and for the calendar year 1929. The reader gets the impression from the array of statistical facts that in general the status of the Philippine Islands with regard to narcotics is much better than that of neighboring islands in the South Pacific. The plan of the American Government in regulating the opium traffic for the Philippine Islands is quite similar to that employed in the United States; namely, rigid restriction of imports to the amounts of raw and prepared opium necessary for scientific and medicinal purposes, and careful supervision of the distribution of this opium through scientific and medical channels.

J. L. ARCHER

Opium as an International Problem, by W. W. WILLOUGHBY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925, xvi+585 pages.

This volume contains a detailed and comprehensive report of international attempts at control of production and distribution of raw and prepared opium, beginning with the issuance of stringent prohibitory edicts in China as early as 1796 and ending with the signing of the protocol at the final session of the Second Geneva Opium Conference, February 19, 1925. The author is well prepared to record accurately the proceedings of the two Geneva Conferences, for he became intimately acquainted with this work in his capacity as counsellor to the Chinese delegation. He supplements the main body of the text by elaborate footnotes and extensive quotations from international documents, giving the reader an unusual insight into all of the subtle ramifications of these conference proceedings, characterized, as they were, by the customary hedging and avoidance of vital issues. The two Geneva Conferences, convened in 1924 and 1925, were designed to strengthen and widen the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1912. The purposes of these two conferences are stated as follows:

1. To limit to the world's medical and scientific needs the production of the raw materials from which narcotic habit-forming drugs are manufactured;
2. To bring to a speedy end the legalized traffic in prepared opium;
3. To control the international traffic in narcotic habit-forming drugs.

In their efforts to attain these objectives (efforts which are judged to be insincere on the part of certain European powers with colonial possessions in the Far East), the majority of the representatives at these conferences, with the outstanding exceptions of China and the United States, are "weighed in the balance and found wanting." But in his final conclusions the author reminds us that if the Geneva Conferences did nothing else, they "served to throw into clear light some of the prerequisites to success of any gathering of plenipotentiaries for the drafting of agreements for common action upon the part of the participating Powers." Trustworthy information, clear understanding as to the competence of the Conference, scrupulous regard for the autonomous rights of the Conference, avoidance of personal expressions fraught with ill feeling, a real disposition to bring about worth-while results—these are among the principal prerequisites which, according to the author, were not recognized and met by the two Geneva Conferences.

J. L. ARCHER

The Treatment of Narcotic Education in School Textbooks, by GERTRUDE ROBINSON. New York: Department of Education of the World Narcotic Defense Association, 1928, 51 pages.

The results of a survey of forty-five textbooks are presented in this little pamphlet, which is replete with specific quotations disclosing the actual treatment of topics relating to narcotics. It is shown that in most of these health books the writers had apparently found it impossible to separate the treatment of narcotic drugs in general from that of tobacco and alcohol, or even from the stimulants, tea, coffee, and chocolate. Such a treatment made it virtually impossible to evaluate the content, scope, and method of textbooks with reference to narcotic education as a distinct topic. It is further revealed that "alcohol and tobacco are in general considered with extravagant fullness and often from a rhetorical rather than from a scientific angle." Miss Robinson points out that a child through reading these books might regard a drink of tea of equal danger to a sniff of cocaine. Opium, morphine, cocaine, heroin, and the allied drugs are discussed chiefly from the patent medicine and headache-powder angle; and as the author clearly demonstrates, this means that the child gets little specific information with regard to these drugs and the ways to avoid them. The study might have been improved by a more objective treatment with graphs and charts showing the actual percentage of space devoted to various topics.

J. L. ARCHER

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The American Sociological Society met at Cleveland, Ohio, December 29-31, 1930. This meeting of the Society was held in conjunction with the following other learned societies—the American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work and Community Center Associations, and the American Farm Economic Association. The activities of the Society during the quarter century of its existence have expanded until they now include sections, besides the general section, on social research, statistics, the teaching of sociology, social work, the family, religion, rural sociology, community life, psychiatry, and educational sociology. The sections of primary interest to the readers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is that on the teaching of sociology and educational sociology. Professor Malcolm M. Willey of the University of Minnesota is chairman of this section. The following is the program of the section:

1. *The Teaching of Undergraduate Sociology*
   - The Teaching and Content of Introductory Courses in General Sociology, by Erville B. Woods, Dartmouth College
   - A Brief Survey of Some Present Practices in Introductory Sociology Courses, by R. E. Baber, New York University
   - Some Suggestions Concerning the Content of an Elementary Sociology Course, by Frank H. Hankins, Smith College
   - A Useful Approach for Elementary Sociology Classes, by Carl A. Dawson, McGill University
   - A Proposed Reorganization of the Introduction to Sociology, by Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota
   - Special Discussion, by Floyd N. House, University of Virginia

2. *Experimental Sociology*
   - Luncheon Introduction, W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago
   - Courses in American Colleges, by H. C. Brearley, Clemson College
   - An Example, by Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College
   - An Example, by Dorothy Thomas, Yale University

A few years ago when the American Society of Educational Sociologists was organized it was decided at the time that this group would continue their relationship with the American Sociological Society with a section on educational sociology. Since this group of educational sociologists are likewise interested in education it was decided to hold another meeting in conjunction with the Department of Superintendence which holds its annual sessions the last days of February and the first days of

March each year. The following is a copy of the program of the section of educational sociology as given in conjunction with the American Sociological Society at Cleveland. This same program would be repeated at the Detroit meeting of the Department of Superintendence. Professor George S. Counts at Teachers College, Columbia University, is chairman of this section for both meetings and Professor Benjamin Floyd Stalcup of the School of Education of New York University is the secretary-treasurer.

1. *The Education of Cultural and Racial Minorities in the United States*
   - The Education of the American Indian, by W. Carson Ryan, Department of Interior
   - Race Conflict as a Social and Educational Problem, by E. George Payne, New York University
   - The Italian Immigrant and the Schools, by Leonard Covello, De Witt Clinton High School
2. *The Play of Social Forces Upon the Schools*
   - The Control of Education in Industrial Society, by George S. Counts, Columbia University
   - Organized Labor and the Schools, by W. G. Kimmel, Commission of Investigation of History and Other Social Studies
   - Minority Control of Education through Legislation, by Newton Edwards, University of Chicago.

* * *

The School of Peace, founded by *L'Europe Neuvelle,* a publication devoted to the discussion of foreign affairs, opened its doors November 1 to study ways of avoiding war. The School of Peace, open to rich and poor alike, will hold weekly evening sessions, at which the League of Nations and other international efforts to establish permanent peace will be discussed. Rector S. Charlety of the Sorbonne, André Siegfried, the League of Nations officials, and many other diplomats, capitalists, and labor chiefs will lecture before the school.

* * *

Professor Pitirim Alexandrovitch Sorokin—condemned to death by the Russian Soviet Government, and finally banished from Russia eight years ago—has just added another title to the list of books which he has published since settling in this country. The book is a three-volume *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology,* which he compiled with the assistance of Professors C. C. Zimmerman and C. J. Galpin. Professor Sorokin is chairman of the department of sociology at Harvard University. He was until this year professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, and his book is published by the University of Minnesota Press. The Source Book contains translations from practically all known languages, including Persian, Japanese, and

Bohemian, and it covers the entire period from ancient Egyptian to the present.

* * *

The fourth biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations will be held at Denver, Colorado, July 27-August 1. There will be present at this meeting representatives from all the great and small nations of the world working on a world program for education for better international understanding.

* * *

The annual meeting of the Department of Superintendence will be held at Detroit the last days of February and the first days of March, 1931.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Mr. Julian L. Archer is now engaged as an instructor in educational sociology at the School of Education, New York University. He received his A.B. degree at Ohio University and his A.M. degree at Columbia. In previous years he has served as high-school principal at Ripley, West Virginia, his home State, and later as a high-school vocational counselor at Bridgeport, Connecticut, and associate professor of education at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama. During the last three years he has pursued graduate studies in educational sociology at the School of Education, New York University, while working simultaneously as an instructor.

Mr. L. G. Brown is associate professor of sociology at Ohio Wesleyan University. He received his undergraduate work at Northwestern University and did graduate work in the University of Chicago from 1922-1926. Professor Brown, before going to Ohio Wesleyan, was affiliated with the Institute of Juvenile Research of Chicago. Mr. Brown has written a number of research articles in the field of behavior disorders of one type or another.

Dr. A. J. Pacini was born in New York. He attended the College of the City of New York, specializing in chemistry and in physics. He served as lieutenant, then captain, in the United States Army. He was chief of X-ray and Laboratory Section of the Department of Biophysical Research, Victor X-ray Corporation of the General Electric Company. He is at present director of the Pacini Laboratories. Dr. Pacini, in collaboration with M. Luckiesh, is the author of *Light and Health*. His entire activities are devoted exclusively to the biochemical and biophysical effects of radiation, and the industrial application of various rays.

Dr. E. George Payne is professor of educational sociology and assistant dean of the School of Education, New York University. Professor Payne, the editor-in-chief and the originator of this publication, is a native of Kentucky. He received an A.B. degree from Chicago University and later studied in the University of Paris and the Universities of Berlin and Bonn, receiving his Ph.D. from the latter in 1909. He was teacher, high-school principal, professor and dean of the Eastern State Normal School in his native State. For twelve years he was professor of sociology and president of Harris Teachers College, St. Louis. He has held his present position since 1922. Dr. Payne is one of the pioneers in the movement for health and accident education, being the author of numerous articles, pamphlets, and books in these two fields, the chief publications being *Education in Accident Prevention*, *We and Our Health* (Books I-IV), and *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum*.

Dr. Raymond Schlemmer, a Swiss citizen, was educated in Paris, at the University of Paris, and in England. He served in the French Army and was invalided in 1905 after six months' service. He was again invalided in 1916 while serving in the World War. In 1920 he joined the staff of the Red Cross committee and was appointed delegate general in 1922. Dr. Schlemmer is now secretary in charge of the Geneva office of the World Conference on Narcotic Education.

Dr. Charles E. Terry received his professional degree from the Maryland Medical School. Since that time he has practised his profession for a number of years and has been health editor of the *Delineator* magazine. At present he is executive of the Committee on Drug Addictions, New York, having an interest in narcotic education.

Dr. George B. Wallace is now a professor of pharmacology, University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He attended the University of Oregon and received his M.D. degree from the University of Michigan in 1897. Dr. Wallace was a Major, Medical Corps, 1917-1919; served as director of the A. R. C. Hospital 1, in France; was lieutenant colonel, Medical Red Cross; member of the Memorial Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine, and president from 1921-1923; member of the Harvey Society, and president from 1915-1917. He is also a member of the American Physiological Society, American Society of Biological Chemistry, American Pharmacological Society, American Medical Association, New York Academy of Medicine, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Society of Naturalists, Nu Sigma Nu, and Sigma Xi.

The JOURNAL *of* EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV MARCH, 1931 No. 7

EDITORIAL

In this day of changing curricula and methods, we are inevitably conceiving new purposes in education. The aims of education bear a reference to social need and have always done so. If awareness and discussion now focus upon the consideration of why we have any education at all, that is because we have been driven by necessity to evaluate goals of education as well as the processes by which it is attained. To the educational sociologist, the desirable outcomes of education center upon social adaptation, that happy adjustment of any individual human equipment to the environment which life experience offers each person.

Ask any group to nominate the desirable characteristics of admired adults. The mastery of subject matter will find no place in such a list; the emphasis will be instead upon those qualities of character that aid in efficient adaptation to the business of living. Dr. Ira M. Gast recently questioned a group of one hundred teachers about curricular outcomes which society has a right to expect, and we are indebted to him for the following quotations from his report:

Teachers seem always to have emphasized the importance of such outcomes as truthfulness, obedience, reliability, punctuality, and industry, but doubtless they have valued these outcomes as individual traits rather than because of their social significance. Social outcomes when stated at all seem to be so clothed in abstractions as to be incomprehensible to pupils, parents, and even teachers. We have talked about a profitable use of leisure time, worthy home membership, and citizenship, but such terms have little meaning without further analysis. Social outcomes need expression in terms commonly understood.

There is much variation of opinion among teachers regarding the matter of outcomes, but the combined attitudes of a considerable number of teachers may be considered as having some value. Each teacher submitted a list of at least fifteen desirable curricular outcomes which are rather definitely understood by the general public. The list containing those outcomes most often mentioned by the group of teachers includes:

1. Consideration for others
2. Health
3. Helpfulness
4. Honor
5. Obedience to law and order
6. Perseverance and industry
7. Reliability
8. Respect for property
9. Self-respect and control
10. Truthfulness

The challenge in such a list is that it deals with outcomes that spread over life. These concerns do not inhere in conventional school training or practice but they permeate living in and out of the schoolroom. We are growing more conscious of these aims of education for, certainly, while progressive schools have given these matters some thought, the ordinary curriculum in the ordinary school trusts to luck about most of them. The hope is that the ordinary curriculum will succumb. The future of education consists solely of clarifying these aims and making them manifest in the machinery of the school.

HIDDEN PHILOSOPHIES: THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER SPEAKS

C. L. ROBBINS

In the October number of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, Professor Kilpatrick renders education a genuine service by making of a book[1] review an opportunity for a criticism of underlying philosophy. Instead of being content to present a list of topics or a rehash of salient ideas, he attempts to get at what is more fundamental and more important—the real direction in which the work under consideration tends. It is to be hoped that many others who are called upon to review books will follow his example.

Since we have here a matter that is not a private argument between the critic and the author, perhaps a third party, an innocent bystander, may be permitted to participate. The reasons for such participation are two. In the first place, it seems to the third party that the reviewer distorts certain ideas of the book reviewed; and in the second place, it seems to him that the philosophy which is used as a standard of criticism is in itself to be criticized.

Distortion appears first in the degree of certainty (amounting to cocksureness) which Professor Kilpatrick imputes to Professor Peters. Thus, in stating what he considers the professed theory of the book, the reviewing philosopher says: "Life and our world of affairs is the kind of thing that can in time—granted probable increase of knowledge—be foretold with fair accuracy. Man as a behaving organism can, also in fair probability, become similarly well known, so that we can expect to be able to foretell with sufficient accuracy the 'preadjustments' man will need in this about-to-be-foretold world of affairs." And

[1] C. C. Peters, *Objectives and Procedures in Civic Education*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930.)

elsewhere: "Note the scientific exactness of every procedure. We are dealing with practical certainties." A better appreciation of the degree of certainty which Professor Peters feels is to be gained by reading what appears on page 26. There we find the following:

> It is also a somewhat dangerous function, for there is the possibility that one may be mistaken regarding the ideals and other traits to which one's pupils should be brought. . . . We wish that teachers might know with perfect infallibility to what sort of character pupils ought to be led. None of us have perfect knowledge about this, but we shall get much further by using the best knowledge we can possess than by giving up and allowing matters to drift on merely by chance.

Such certainty as Professor Peters feels is based upon the idea that if we know what we wish to accomplish, science will find a way—an idea quite different from having foreknowledge of all the permutations and combinations of a changing world.

In the matter of what is included in the idea of "the future," it seems to the innocent bystander that there is further distortion. Professor Kilpatrick discusses at some length the generally recognized fact that we cannot foretell future situations with any degree of certainty. He then makes it appear that Professor Peters pretends to have prescience beyond human capacity and that he must have such foreknowledge in order to make his blue prints. What Professor Peters really does is to outline, not a scheme of future situations with corresponding adjustments, but a picture of what he and his collaborators believe the world (or part of it) ought to be made. There is a great difference between pretending to know what will be and making an effort to shape the world to our heart's desires. ("Our first step is to get a blue print of the individual or the society we want—a detailed picture of the good citizen, the man of culture, the vocationally efficient person, etc.," Peters, page 21.)

It may be that any one who wishes to make a detailed picture of the good citizen ought, first of all, to know the

future in which that good citizen is to live; but Professor Peters has refrained from any attempt to map out the details of that future. He has merely attempted to show what the good citizen ought to be.

In this connection (forecasting the future and making blue prints) it may be remarked parenthetically that Professor Kilpatrick's illustration seems rather weak. He imagines a walk during which he has to be on the alert to keep from being run over by a motor vehicle, and uses the contingencies that arise as evidence that blue prints cannot be made. As a matter of fact, probably any Gotham-bred child of eight years could make a very adequate blue print of a walk from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil. Only a philosopher would find serious difficulty in the task.

It seems, then, that Peters is accused of two faults of which he is not guilty. He does not pretend to be able to foretell the future. His blue print is an attempt to present a picture, not of the future in detail, but of the good citizen who is to be.

If it be objected that it is useless to attempt to draw up a picture of the future citizen unless we base it upon a detailed knowledge of the world in which he will live, the reply is that one's portrayal of Peters should show what he did, not what he ought to have done. A criticism of his philosophy will, of course, deal with what he ought to have done.

Throughout his discussion, Professor Kilpatrick seems to take the blue-print figure of speech too seriously and literally. If he had lived among the Greeks he would probably have criticized Aristotle for talking about intellectual subject matter in terms used for building materials.

Having considered the distortion of the visible Peters, we now come to the philosophical implications of what his book is and seems to be—the invisible Peters.

In the first place, we read that his blue-print theory implies foretelling the future—even though he specifically

states that he does not pretend to have that power. It is difficult to see how the inference is drawn. Certainly it is not necessary to do any great looking into the future to make a blue print in the literal sense. Obviously, it would be very satisfactory if every person who plans a house could peer into the future and see all the "situations" in which the house would find itself. But just as obviously a blue print of a house can be made without any such glimpse into the future; it being understood, of course, that the best possible estimate of future needs will be made. In the case of the educational blue print, it seems clear, regardless of any implications concerning impossibility, that Peters has gone ahead and made one. It is not necessary to imply what he himself disclaims—miraculous foresight.

It seems to the innocent bystander that the whole matter of change and readjustment may be overemphasized. It is admitted, of course, that the world changes, that no two situations are exactly the same, that there is a constant rearrangement even of recurring elements. But what of it? Take a typical series of situations for a university professor. He goes to his office morning after morning and never finds exactly what he left the afternoon before. The particles of dust have shifted into new patterns; the colors of his books have faded to an infinitesimal degree; all the air that was there yesterday has gone and other air has taken its place; the whole room is nearer final disintegration than ever before. But how often does change demand any plan of action "contrived on the spot"?

The new is always so full of the old, or the new creeps so gradually into the old, that most of us, philosophers included, constantly use our preadjustments and find them adequate. So far as the solving of new problems is concerned, the "stream of novelly developing events" is about 99.44 per cent old stuff. And that old stuff is satisfactorily handled by preadjustments. True it is, of course, that to lead the good life one must be able to solve important problems as they arise; but few genuine problem situations

reach the level of consciousness. The good life demands that those that are important be recognized as such and handled intelligently. But it is a waste of time and energy to make a problem of every infinitesimal change in the "stream of novelly developing events." Not even a philosopher can spend much of his time with a micrometer measuring slight evidences of novelty, or looking for new problems with a compound microscope.

Even Professor Kilpatrick's ideal of a person who will meet a new situation with a plan of action "contrived on the spot in terms of things then occurring," is an example of preadjustment. The difference between the critic and the criticized in this case seems to be that Peters is willing to assume responsibility for many preadjustments, including preadjustments to novelty, while Kilpatrick would avoid every kind except one—and probably would refuse to call that one preadjustment.

The question of assuming responsibility for exerting the control implied in the work of education is another matter in which the underlying philosophy needs attention. Professor Peters calmly assumes that the young must be educated; that it is the business of teachers to educate them as far and as well as possible. Professor Kilpatrick seems to shrink in horror from any such responsibility. Apparently his readings on the terrors of despotism have left him with a permanent dread of having the few control the many or of having the powerful control the weak and helpless. Whether we like it or not, let us assume that control will be exerted and then look at some of the possibilities.

First, there is the conception of control of all by all or of each by all. This is social despotism, a kind of control that has never been possible in any human group even of the very smallest number. In romance it exists in the case of a pair of perfect lovers; in reality it does not work.

Second, there is the control of each by himself. This is anarchy. It appears beautiful when seen from afar through

a haze of rosy idealism. When really attempted, whether in family, business, school, or government, its rosiness is seen to be but a distant reflection of the fires of hell. Perhaps after hell has been destroyed and all human beings are born wise, gentle, loving, meek, and mild, complete control of each by himself will be a practical philosophy.

Third, there is the control of all or the many by the many—essentially the idea of a democracy as practised in this country. In theory, it means majority rule, although in actual practice it often fails to be such.

Fourth, we may see the control of the many by the few —the type which is abhorrent to Professor Kilpatrick—and to most Americans when they recognize it in government. In actual practice this is the only form of control which seems to give much promise of standing the pragmatic test among the vast majority of people. Although abhorrent under such names as minority rule, aristocracy, oligarchy, and, of late, the Bolshevik experiment, it finds general acceptance as a practical working arrangement.

Fifth, there may be a combination of the third and fourth ideas—a kind of immediate control by the few who are more remotely controlled by the many. This is the general description of our present experiment in public education. The education of the many (children) is in the hands of a few (administrators and teachers) who are controlled by the many (citizens who take the trouble to participate in government). As a working theory of government and of public education, the innocent bystander sees little in this idea to criticize. Indeed, he regards it as the only rational basis of popular education. It is the democratic golden mean between the extremes of social despotism and anarchy.

From Professor Kilpatrick's article it is difficult to discover just which of these fundamental ideas he supports. Undoubtedly, his tone indicates that he would not defend any control of the many by the few. The implication of individual independence in his extreme advocacy of using

individual problem-solving as a fundamental of philosophy for a world of change probably is that he is in the second category—control of each by himself. That is to say, he is an anarchist. As that term is interpreted today, such a characterization seems too harsh for a man as gentle and lovable as Professor Kilpatrick. Perhaps Utopian idealist would better characterize a philosopher whose thinking seems to derive from conditions that lie beyond some "far-off, divine event."

Professor Peters, in contrast with his critic, seems to regard himself as a servant of society—a servant whose job it is to plan the best education possible for the children of those in whose service he is and to whom he is responsible. Or perhaps, he is merely one of those who believe that the few (of whom he is one) should control the many—as Professor Kilpatrick accuses him of being. This matter is not altogether clear to the innocent bystander.

We come finally to the ethics of teaching. Is it morally justifiable for the strong (the teacher) to indoctrinate the weak (the pupil)? For one who cannot know or even pretend to know the future (the teacher or the curriculum maker) to attempt to prepare one who knows even less (the pupil) for that unknowable future?

The only sensible answer is an affirmative. Anything else would mean compelling children to face the future without the benefit of even that little knowledge which their elders have come to possess—or to rob them of the heritage which the experiences of humanity have provided.

But this affirmative answer must be qualified by an *if*. Professor Kilpatrick, who believes in indoctrination of his kind, would insist on impregnating the pupil's mind with the idea of change and the necessity of contriving new solutions as new problems arise. This he is unwilling to call preadjustment. Professor Peters would make his qualifying *if* precede a statement to the effect that preadjustment should be planned upon the basis of the ideas of the wisest and best.

Back of all this lies the question of the ethics of teaching "a thoroughgoing and open-minded study and criticism of all that concerns man, with the correlative implication that the remaking of thought and behavior patterns in obedience to such study is normal and proper." To the innocent bystander, the use of the word *all* reduces this idea to nonsense.

In view of the experience of humanity and the world as it is today and is likely to be for many generations, is it ethical to attempt to give children (or even adults) an open-minded attitude towards such parts of the all as hoggishness, lying, committing a public nuisance, incest, murder of one's parents, or even murder in general? Is it ethical to teach children (or adults) to be open-minded on *all* matters and to make their own decisions even after what seems to them to be thoroughgoing and critical study and criticism?

The innocent bystander is willing to have philosophers spend their time making problems of such matters and seeking open-minded solutions; but he regards it as wasteful and harmful to educate children in such a way that they will have other than feelings of disgust and abhorrence for phases of human conduct such as those mentioned. In other words, he, like Kilpatrick, believes in indoctrination of his own kind.

On the whole, we have before us two conflicting philosophies. The one (Kilpatrick's) emphasizes the unknowableness of the future; the other (Peters') lays stress upon the importance of planning for a desirable future. The one avoids responsibility; the other accepts it, even though conscious of weakness. The one fears the establishment of control by the few; the other plans for control by those who are least likely to have ulterior sinister motives—teachers. The one desires a world in which each man will do "what is right in his own eyes"; the other plans to fashion a world controlled by the ideas of the good and wise. In one direction lies a chaotic world in which individual

open-minded planning remakes and unmakes the ways of living which have resulted from the humanity's experience through thousands of years; in the other lies a world in which social control through education is sought as a necessary and desirable part of the good life.

CHARACTER EDUCATION IN THE LONG BEACH CITY SCHOOLS

EMIL LANGE

Long Beach, California, considers character education to be of paramount importance. It not only emphasizes the character-developing values obtained indirectly from the pupils' numerous school contacts, but it also supplements this with a course in the elementary school in direct character training.

The course of study is written for grades one to six and considers five of the ten traits that a pool of judgments considered to be the most important.[1] Twenty-five minutes a week are set aside for direct instruction in character education. Since it seemed advisable to do a more intensive piece of work than the study of ten traits would make possible, the five following were selected for emphasis in the elementary schools. It is planned to include all ten traits in the course of study to be written for the secondary segment. The five traits selected, with suggested time allotments, are:

Honesty	5 weeks
Courtesy	5 weeks
Responsibility	4 weeks
Industry	2 weeks
Punctuality	2 weeks

The elementary course of study is written around situations involving these traits. Teachers do not need to use any of these situations; they are merely suggestions of possibilities. In fact, teachers are encouraged to select situations for discussions that arise from the pupils' experiences.

While it is not believed that knowledge of what is considered honest, courteous, and the like, will necessarily

[1]Fourth Yearbook of the National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, pp. 434-435. "A Character Education Plan," by Professor L. Thomas Hopkins.

result in overt action, still it is believed that our schools need to instruct pupils in what are considered American standards, since pupils come from all types of homes, many of which do not know what these standards are. Knowledge is necessary to desirable action.

In the introductory remarks of the course of study the steps for teaching character education are given as follows:

Creating an attitude
Instruction
Generalization
Transfer

In regard to creating an attitude, change in conduct can be expected to follow only when the emotions release the energy necessary to overcome the moral inertia. Instruction on a purely intellectual basis is almost useless, but if a person says with feeling, "Lying is something I abhor," conduct can be expected to change.

The emotions are normally aroused by concrete acts, by specific ideas, and by persons, but not through generalities.

In this course of study, under each trait to be taught will be found short stories dealing with concrete acts or biographical incidents that will aid the teacher in creating the proper attitude. In each instance only the trait to be taught at a certain time is to be emphasized from the story used. A story should take but little time and serves the same purpose that a joke told by a good orator does. It aids the speaker to get in rapport with his audience and is part of the introduction to the address itself.

When the proper emotional attitude is fixed, the next step is instruction in many situations of the trait. This instruction involves the same psychological principles of learning as instruction in any of the academic subjects. Pupils cannot acquire the proper habits for character formation unless they know what the proper actions are. The purpose of this instruction is to teach the best standards of conduct in regard to the traits listed in the course of study.

Great numbers of situations under each trait are presented for instruction so that the pupil may know what is proper conduct in these particular traits. In this way he comes to recognize an honesty situation through seeing it in many different lights and thus making it possible for him to generalize what honesty is.

The greater the number of honesty situations that a pupil recognizes as such, the greater is his opportunity to transfer this knowledge from within the school to outside the school. If he finds a pencil at school he is instructed what the honest procedure is. If transfer has taken place he will know what the honest procedure is when he finds a purse on the street.[2]

The general method of approach in character education is by lessons and conferences. Lessons include discussions, dramatizations, and materials from literature, art, and life situations. The teacher is encouraged to hold sympathetic conferences with individuals or groups that fail to apply character teachings, and also to consult with the parents of children who need special guidance in forming proper character habits.

The course includes aims, desirable outcomes, topics for teaching, an extensive list of possible situations under each trait, type lessons for each trait, and suggested stories for aiding the development of attitudes.

Examples of topics for teaching, grades 1, 2, 3:

Honesty in relation to conduct at home and at school

1. Telling facts without exaggeration or misrepresentation
2. Telling the truth even at cost
3. Making and keeping promises
4. Honesty in regard to money
5. Honesty in regard to property
6. Honesty in borrowing
7. Honesty in play
8. Honesty in regard to work

Other topics suggested by incidents in the lives of the pupils may be added as occasion demands.[3]

Example of honesty situations, grade 1B:

In relation to avoiding exaggeration or misrepresentation of facts

When you were not thinking, you started to hum a little song softly in school. When the teacher asks who is humming, if you are very honest, what do you do? . . .

In relation to returning borrowed articles

You are playing in the sand. You borrow Jack's bucket and shovel for just a minute. If you are very honest, how long will you keep them?[4]

[2]Long Beach City Schools, Course of Study in Character Education, pp. 11-12.
[3]Long Beach City Schools, Course of Study in Character Education, p. 19.
[4]Long Beach City Schools, Course of Study in Character Education, p. 19.

Teachers' reactions to this course of study show them to believe in it and to be most favorable towards it. Furthermore, pages are left blank throughout the course where teachers may write in stories and situations that have proven especially vital. Such material will be helpful when the course comes up for revision.

It may be stated here that a separate course of study and a specified time allotment are not considered ideal. The desirable situation would be where every teacher considered character education as part of an integrated activity program and the integration of wholesome personality as one of the outcomes of such a program.

But a course of study does set up definite aims, content, and outcomes that are to be realized, and so focuses attention on these during the transition period in which the school of subject-matter dominance will yield to the child-centered school.

The above exposition gives a synopsis of direct character teaching in the Long Beach schools. However, just to consider this phase would be to present an incomplete picture. The innumerable activities in which pupils engage in school today offer ample opportunity to put into practice the knowledges obtained through direct instruction. School activities present situations that are real both to teacher and pupils for vital discussion during the instruction period. Clubs, dramatizations, socialized recitations, and activity programs give promise of providing the emotional stimuli so essential to the carry-over of character-education experiences.

NEED FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ADVERTISEMENT RESPONSE

PAUL MAXWELL

Curriculum leaders seem to agree that the best approach to curriculum research is through a study of actual human behaviors. The following suggestion by Harap is typical: "The specific, usable abilities to be developed in school are determined by an analysis of the major life activities."[1] A great many such analyses have been made now, and the objectives so derived have been used as bases for courses of study. One important human activity, however, has received scant attention. It is response to advertisements. The purpose of this paper is to point out the importance of this function as an objective of public education.

The advertisement is a very common element in the environment of man today. The bulk of the space in newspapers and magazines is devoted to this form of literature. In thickly populated districts, billboards and posters greet one on every hand. A large part of the morning mail usually turns out to consist of appeals to buy, invest, donate, or respond in some other manner. The majority of manufacturers, merchants, and professional people use advertising as an aid in selling their commodities or services. Thus, the people in America are exposed daily to an array of advertisements that vary in the nature of their offerings from the most basic human needs to the most inexcusable luxuries, and from the satisfaction of degrading lusts to salvation of the soul.

And the function of advertising is to influence human behavior, "to persuade others to perform some specific acts."[2] That it accomplishes its purpose in a large measure

[1] Henry Harap, *The Technique of Curriculum Making* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 269.

[2] Henry F. Adams, *Advertising and Its Mental Laws* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 4.

is rather a safe assumption. The business men of the United States would hardly be spending more than a billion dollars a year upon advertising if it were not getting results.[3] It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that at the present time advertising influences many behaviors of many people; and response to advertisements is one of the important activities of American men and women.

In considering the need for education in advertisement response, it seems well to consider the nature of the influences exerted upon human behavior by advertising. Sometimes advertising is considered a public servant and sometimes a public menace. Both views are worth considering; for no doubt some of the outcomes of advertising are desirable and some are detrimental.

One of the desirable outcomes of advertising is the lowering of costs to the consumer. This is brought about by stimulating demands, thus making possible large-scale production. Another valuable function of advertising is the education of the public to make use of the products and services which industry, government, other institutions and individuals are able to supply thereby raising standards of living. Ex-President Coolidge has said: "When we stop to consider the part which advertising plays in the modern life of production and trade, we see that basically it is that of education. . . . By changing the attitude of mind it changes the material condition of the people."[4] Then there are types of advertising, such as classified advertisements, which furnish information that helps the public locate needed commodities.

There are also some undesirable outcomes of advertising. Advertisements sometimes appeal to desires that are not needs. The demand for patent medicines, cigarettes, chewing gum, and many other useless or harmful products

[3]Percival White, *Advertising Research* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), p. 572. "It is estimated that over a billion dollars annually is appropriated for advertising in the United States."

[4]Hugh E. Agnew and George B. Hotchkiss, *Advertising Principles* (New York: Alexander Hamilton Institute, 1927), p. 29.

is unquestionably stimulated in this way. Advertising also spreads false notions. These may be in the form of exaggerated monetary values, health superstitions, political biases, and the like. Finally, advertising enables manufacturers, merchants, and other minority groups to determine for the public many of the habits and modes of living that prevail. According to Roland S. Vaile, "the control of this power is in the hands of manufacturers and merchants, whose dominant motive is profit. As long as this is true, advertising will be used . . . to urge people to buy the things they are most easily persuaded they want . . . it is unlikely the result will generally be in line with ethical progress. It is not even in line with economic progress."[5]

Since advertising has such important bearings upon the public welfare, it seems reasonable that the public should take measures to control the outcomes of this social force. In fact legislation has been employed for this purpose. The Federal Government prohibits the use of the mails to defraud, and nearly all the States have *Printer's Ink* laws which provide a penalty for fraudulent advertising.

This legislation suggests the desirability of an enlightened public which is able to make use of advertising for what it is worth, and to resist the evil influences of advertising. Attainment of this goal will require education. Advertisers draw freely upon the arts and sciences in attempting to persuade the public to act in a way that is profitable to the advertiser. This makes it difficult to interpret advertising wisely. According to Chase and Schlink, "We are all Alices in a Wonderland of conflicting claims, bright promises, fancy packages, soaring words, and almost impenetrable ignorance."[6]

Therefore it is held that the public school should give instruction in advertisement response because this is a fre-

[5]Roland S. Vaile, *Economics of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1927), p. 173.

[6]Stuart Chase and F. J. Schlink, *Your Money's Worth* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 2.

quent and important human activity; the outcomes of advertising are sometimes desirable, and sometimes undesirable; and advertising is an intricate procedure, difficult to interpret and employ wisely.

EDUCATION AND LABOR

J. FRANK DAY

The growing interest in that aspect of education that may appropriately be called educational economics is rapidly differentiating into many phases. One of the most important of these phases is the relation of education to the problem of labor. This article is a brief outline of one aspect of this relation.

Labor is the human factor in production. It is human energy expended in productive efforts. These efforts may, of course, be physical or mental or both—usually will of necessity be both.

Production is often defined as the creation of utility. What is meant by this definition depends upon what is meant by the term utility. Formerly it was held that no labor was productive that did not result in the production of concrete tangible goods. Now it is universally accepted that personal services are no less productive; that is, that setting a broken limb, teaching a class, or preaching a sermon are as productive as digging ditches, raising wheat, or making stoves. Some of the more progressive thinkers are suggesting that perhaps the word productive ought to be reserved for the creation of only useful utilities. Clearly there are various kinds of utility produced, and hence there is production in several senses.

Utility, broadly speaking, is the relation of a means to an end. If the end is human satisfaction, the utility obtaining is, following Giddings, aptly called "subjective utility," or "desiredness" as Pigou suggests. This is the meaning usually given to the word utility by economists. To increase the want-satisfying power of a good is to be productive in this sense. On the other hand, if the end is human welfare, the utility obtaining may appropriately be called objective utility. This is the sense in which Adam Smith used the term, and now a limited but growing tendency is seen in economic literature to revert to the origi-

nal meaning and to emphasize the welfare point of view. It is clear that an act might be productive in the subjective or want-satisfying sense, and fail to be productive, even be destructive, in the objective on need-supplying sense. Again, it is also very clear to any thinking person that an act may be productive of both types of utility.

Education is concerned with both subjective and objective utility. Desire is necessary to motivate directed activity, and benefit is necessary to ensure welfare. Both types of utility may be created by productive effort not only in concrete exchangeable goods but in the work activity also. That is, labor first may result in the creation of utility, both subjective and objective, in things made, transported, stored, or exchanged, or in services rendered; and secondly, labor itself may be enjoyed and at the same time be beneficial to the worker. Education is vitally concerned with the creation of all four of these aspects of production: subjective utility and also objective utility in both exchangeable goods and in activity. When? During the entire life span—not merely during the salary-drawing period, but also during the previous school-preparatory period and the subsequent period of retirement. The total life span is the significant unit. Satisfaction at any stage is part of the total subjective income, and benefit at any stage is part of the total objective income. Net income in either sense is the gross sum of pleasure or benefit less the human cost in terms of either dissatisfaction or injury. The net income in both senses may be increased either by increasing the gross total or by lessening the cost or by both. Education's duty is to contribute as fully as possible to the dual process. The contribution may take all of several forms, each of which I shall now attempt to consider.

1. *The sources of preparation*—Much might be said concerning the various opportunities that exist for preparing laborers for their future life and work, concerning the relative importance and extent of their contributions, and, finally, concerning the ways their programs could advan-

tageously and progressively be amended. The space limitations of this paper make more than a bare mention of the various sources of preparation impossible.

(a) Some chance exists for "pick-up" training, though much less in many callings than formerly. (b) The home, especially the city home, is now almost lacking in opportunities for specific preparation for industrial or professional service. Of course, the home is fundamentally important as the institution for acquiring the virtues of honesty, thrift, dependability, industry, etc., all basically necessary to vocational efficiency. (c) The institution of industry itself does much in the way of giving initial intensive formal training for the job. The general-welfare work also of many industrial units includes educational provisions of considerable importance in the further preparation of the workers. (d) Organized labor has its educational leagues and programs offering opportunities for both specialized and general education. Early an important factor in the battle for free public schools, many of the labor unions still preserve a warm interest in educational matters, although influenced somewhat by propagandist interests. (e) The school's function is to do what all the other institutions and agencies fail to do. As modern society becomes more and more complex the duty of furnishing vocational training by formal public education is continually enlarging. The schools, especially the high schools, are nobly, yet still inadequately, facing and solving the problem. The universities, colleges, and junior colleges might profit from the example of the initiative and leadership now blazing the trail on the lower high-school level.

2. *Preparation for what?*—Briefly, the work of preparing the future laborer for social service includes efforts aimed at increasing efficiency in production, equity in distribution, and wisdom in consumption; that is, at social efficiency in the major economic processes. Also, it should be insisted, the preparation should not neglect the opportunities and duties of citizenship in all of its major and

minor aspects. Each of these phases of the preparation of the workers, who should include all of us, will be discussed briefly in turn.

Social efficiency in production includes five principal elements: technical efficiency, ability in selling the labor commodity, joy and benefit in work, coöperation, and participation in management.

(1) *Technical marginal efficiency* in producing tangible goods or in rendering services is, of course, basic to the social efficiency of the worker. No service is higher or of more importance than the production of useful goods. I said marginal efficiency above because the social worth of a man's labor is proportional to the social demand for its products. Vocational guidance and vocational education should, therefore, take account of the probable future demand for the various types of labor and of the present number in training to meet that demand. This involves much statistical but very necessary research. In short, education should attempt not only to furnish technical and liberal training, but also to give such farsighted vocational guidance that a proper balance of the various types of labor may be preserved. Still more briefly, education should apply the economic law of variable proportions.

(2) *Ability in marketing the labor commodity* is essential to the worker's permanent and satisfactory service. Low pay means ineffective work and a small share of the social dividend. The worker must continue indefinitely to bargain with employers in fixing the terms of the labor contract, including the rate of wages, hours of labor, and all of the conditions attending employment. His welfare depends largely upon his individual and collective ability to meet employers on an equality in the bargaining process. Education should not neglect this aspect of his preparation, which involves much attention to liberal, as distinguished from technical, education with some training in salesmanship.

(3) *The ability to enjoy and benefit from work* activities

is indispensable to a high degree of welfare. Such ability largely determines organic income. Goods produced are meant ultimately to furnish satisfaction in use. Total satisfaction is added to if joy attends the production of goods later to be used and enjoyed. It is net satisfaction, or total satisfaction less total human dissatisfaction, that counts in estimating the social subjective dividend. Further, most economic goods are beneficial to the consumer. The total of benefits is greater if benefit attends the productive efforts of the worker. Again, it is net benefit that counts in estimating the social objective or vital income. The sum of the net subjective and objective incomes constitutes the net organic income.

Education can and should do much to lessen irksomeness and injury on the job and to promote pleasure and benefit in work activity. The performance of this duty necessitates liberalizing the vocational program. Liberal education does not mean giving attention especially to the so-called "cultural" subjects. It means any educational element or procedure that widens the horizon of the worker's intellectual vision, that increases his insight into the social, industrial, and individual problems that he must face, that gives him an understanding of the larger technical processes of which his particular job is a part, and that furnishes him with a fuller knowledge of the social significance of his personal contribution to the general social order and a keener appreciation of his debts and obligations to that order. Obviously, what is most liberal in this sense to one man is probably not so to another. The problem of individual differences obtains in the field of liberal as well as in that of vocational education. This does not imply neglecting the important aim of social integration and resulting social solidarity, but merely giving to each worker what will help him most in solving the general problems of life that inevitably must confront him. This liberal training means not only greater insight into social life and increased enjoyment in one's work but also a greater total of exchange-

able products, for joy in work means more efficient work. Briefly, to liberalize and humanize the worker means to put the "creative impulse" into industry.

(4) *The inclination and ability to coöperate* with fellow workmen and with employers in the common work of production are traits rapidly becoming indispensable in industry. Complexity and interdependence of function demand coöperation among the workers. Antagonism between the capitalist on one side and labor on the other is extremely wasteful of both capital and effort. Coöperation in industry in its widest sense must in the general social interest replace conflict. Labor's greatest opportunity for elevating its power, prestige, and pay lies in viewing its contribution as part of a general coöperative program. In doing the things that mean increased production and resulting social service, workers do the very things that will contribute most to their welfare. The more goods that are produced the more there are to go around and hence the greater the individual shares. For the same reason the lower will be prices and hence the more that can be bought with money wages. Further, the more that is produced under competitive conditions the greater usually are the profits of entrepreneurs. This fact means the encouragement of enterprise in general to invest, expressed either by the enlargement of existing plants or the opening of new ones. In any case, increased investments will result in a greater demand for labor and hence higher wages. Coöperation brings about not only higher pay but also better general working conditions. It makes for a better understanding between the employer and his employees, a fuller supplying of the latter's needs on the job, and a sympathetic concern on the part of each for the welfare of the other. In short, coöperation means what Carver calls the "higher strategy" of labor; and, as this writer reminds us, following the injunction of the Master: He who would be greatest among you let him be most the servant of all.

This prescription of service applies to capital and its

owners as well as to labor. What is coöperatively produced can never intelligently be viewed as private property in the absolute sense that others have no interest in its use. Wealth as property is possible only under the protection and guardianship of the State. Land values especially are the result of the silent contribution of society. What is owned under these social sanctions and support ought to be viewed largely as a public trust and administered with some regard for the general good. Education can do more than it is now doing to develop the coöperative spirit and give to future employers and employees alike the understanding that theirs is a mutual undertaking, that neither is efficient without the help of the other, that both owe most of what they are and have to society at large, and that the general welfare should be their coöperative concern.

(5) *The ability to control industry* by labor, as gradually the democratic spirit gains control of industrial ideals, is becoming a pressing aim in the education of the worker. Signs are everywhere in evidence that labor is gaining more and more influence in the control of industry. Numerous labor banks, widespread ownership by wage earners of corporation shares of stock, and employee representative committees are outstanding examples of these signs. It is true that the control exercised by labor is so far an appearance rather than a reality. Yet labor if it wished might through stock purchase gain control of many of our leading industries in a relatively short time. Whether such purchase would be wise or not depends upon the stability and dividend-yielding power of the stock, and also upon the ability of the new stockholders to guide wisely the policies of the business. Certainly to purchase stock to the point of gaining control of an industry only to have it go on the rocks would be folly indeed. However, it is probable that the workers will gradually, as time passes, obtain wider control of the industries in the nation. What is now something of a shadow resembling control will no doubt in time become something of a reality.

The welfare of all demands that workers be trained for such an important responsibility. The fathers at the birth of the nation urged that political democracy demanded training for citizenship if the nation and its institutions were to endure. For the same reason coming industrial democracy demands training of the workers for participation in guiding the fortunes of industry if the present industrial order is to be preserved or be fully efficient. That American workers to some extent sense the responsibility of their growing power is evidenced by their consistent widespread rejection of extreme radicalism in this country. Wider and more liberal education will increase this feeling of social responsibility and also the stability and farsightedness of their policies, thereby reducing the chances of catastrophe that would follow the exercise of power in the hands of the unwise. The need for such training is more urgent than many educators, blinded by concern for immediate technical efficiency, seem to think. Educational policy, like all policies, is wise to the extent that it is farsighted and guided by concern for ultimate consequences. The philosophy of narrow individualism and immediateness in control of education would prepare the way and furnish the pitfalls for our final destruction. To him who is to have power must be given wisdom; and, let it be emphasized, this wisdom must be social wisdom.

It must continually be kept in mind that the present school workers who are preparing to perform the world's work of tomorrow are also to be the future citizens of the republic. Their problems will not be industrial, technical, and financial only. As parents and as possessors of sovereign political power they will either succeed or fail in performing the duties incidental to the grave responsibilities involved. How well they are to carry these burdens depends largely upon the kind and quality of education they are receiving. Clearly it ought not to be merely technical or narrowly vocational, or guided by narrowly trained teachers. I have already called attention to the fact that the

growing share of the workers in the control of industry demands a type of education that will make them wise in management and justify the measure of power entrusted to them. Citizenship in industry is twin to citizenship politically. As citizens of the nation they will be called upon more and more as time passes to participate through elected representatives in making laws aimed at the regulation and control of business and industry generally. If the workers are unwise as voters and as moulders of public opinion, little can reasonably be expected in the way of wise legislation and law observance. On the other hand, to the extent the workers are wise as citizens legislation will be wise and obeyed. All this makes a further demand for that type of education called liberal as defined earlier in this paper.

The end of education and of industry is man. The end should never be subordinated to the minor position of means. A man is a man on the job in spite of efforts and arguments to make him otherwise. Management in industry ought never to view the workers as mere instruments of production. Public education should never prostitute itself by being an ally of those business managers and employers who are blind to all else but dividends. The glory of humanity is found in the joy, dignity, wisdom, usefulness, and coöperative spirit of human life. Education ought to promote these things among all the children of all the people. Of course, a human life is much short of its fullest glory if it is economically unproductive. On the other hand, it is also far short of complete self-realization if it is merely productive of tangible economic goods. The abundant life is realized when it is full to overflowing of service to other persons and to society at large, and when the service activities are attended by maximum joy and self-improvement. Education should aim at nothing short of the abundant life for all and not merely for the privileged few. Its achievement demands a rich program. Niggardliness at the heart of the social body means a lowered vitality in the whole organism.

HOW SHALL WE EDUCATE?
THE UNITARY AIM OF EDUCATION

EDWARD F. WALDRON

In the confusion of contemporary texts on the psychology of education, remedial instruction, educational objectives, etc., we find various aims of education presented. These may be a part or all of the educational program as seen by a particular author; but most of the writers on education see many aims rather than one. This contrasts with the everyday experience in driving an automobile. In this we need to see the whole road as well as the immediate situation, never losing sight of the general direction of the highway while handling each immediate situation. Educators, thinking of their work, strangely enough see the immediate problem only and are oblivious to the whole road.

If we look at the "whole road" first, we must agree that there has really been but one definition of education. That is: "training for social efficiency." There are many ways and means of arriving at social efficiency; but we cannot secure it without defining it. This definition involves a knowledge and understanding of our environment, or at least an idea of our society and how it is moving.

Unfortunately, when we attempt to secure a clear definition, we enter forthwith a maze of facts, statistics, and ideas. These may be essentially similar in significance; but no two persons give any group of words exactly the same meanings. Hence, discussion passes from the larger issues to the immediate smaller parts that make up education, and on which verbal differences make us appear to differ. In Spartan days, in the Middle Ages, or in American Indian communities, the entire social life was sufficiently simple to enable an average person to gain a clear notion of social efficiency. No arguments as to content of education could arise. As life became more complicated, the

stress in education appeared to be laid upon our inheritance from the past—perhaps with the tacit implication that we could later, by virtue of our innate abilities, develop "automatically" to effective citizenship.

Thus, religious training was largely "automatic" in those simpler days. With church and government very closely allied, as in early Colonial days, a large part of education was within the unavoidable social experience of every person. The Colonial schools did not pretend to care for the whole task of education but simply gave the child a fundamental equipment with which to acquire an education. This education was most often secured in the field of "hard knocks." As with all religions throughout history, social and moral codes tending to develop proper behavior came through social experience within the church.

As modern civilization developed, church and government became divorced. This happened most quickly and fully in America. The same historical development separated the schools from the church, giving us three essential socially regulative bodies: church, school, and government. The government itself was controlled by the product of the churches and the schools; but the separation of church from school eliminated certain direct social contacts. The response to this lack has been to make moral and social training an essential part of the school program. Such training might not be necessary if we were a completely churchgoing people with churches all performing their functions completely. (Such a situation, with one hundred per cent effective churches attended by one hundred per cent of the people, may conceivably be attained, if religion is seized by the modern spirit and turns to human needs instead of worrying about nonessential dogmas.)

Other phases of our mode of living have so altered that the American home is no longer a genuinely social center. The loss of this center in which parents and children influenced each other's ideals has also removed the education due to imitation of elders in the home circle. The oncom-

ing generation imitates only obvious or public behaviors rather than the more idealistic ones existing in the home.

Nevertheless, the oncoming generation is entitled to be brought up to be socially efficient. Many agencies towards this end that have been working "automatically" are not operating as well or as fully as they did. The public naturally turns to the school as the recognized institution of education and says: "You are not educating as you should."

Meanwhile, modern invention, increasing the facilities for communication, travel, and transportation, has made social life conspicuously more complicated. New activities have carried the individual from life in an isolated community into a larger and larger field, making him now a citizen of the world. He is not limited in contact to an area of thirty or forty square miles (as in the past), but is affected by and affects the entire world. People have not only grouped themselves in urban communities, but have allowed themselves to become dependent upon rural districts either adjacent or distant for the very necessities of life. These congestions and contacts have brought new problems of sanitation and cleanliness to the various communities. With this development, the school systems have been adding to their curricula in order that the children might "inherit" a more complete knowledge of the achievements of the past. With this knowledge they are supposed to study further and become socially efficient.

At this point the difficulty appears. Subjects have been added—first one and then another—until Payson Smith of Massachusetts says, "I hope that some day we shall have a Reading Day, Writing Day, and Arithmetic Day put on the school calendar, that we may remember for what the schools were originally founded." Even this statement misses the real problem in education. The psychologists, faced with the many subjects to be taught, found that instruction must be made more efficient. They analyzed the learning processes themselves, discovering such fundamen-

tal facts as: how habits are formed; associative memorizing; interests as a motivator. As we might expect, only one phase was analyzed—how to do the traditional school job better. The task was not questioned.

These discoveries led to further studies as to just what could be done to make learning interesting. We revert unwittingly to the theories of Rousseau, with the belief that learning is an outgrowth of the impulses of the child and that all children have great possibilities if allowed to develop freely. We naturally avoid Rousseau's omission in letting Emile develop as that youngster himself wished and thus become an unusual person. But we carry forward, with due regard for social needs, the same fundamental type of education. A fine example of such work is recorded in Dr. Hughes Mearns's book, *Creative Youth*. The outcome is now known as a "child-centered school" and is a conspicuous, useful, new variety of education. Such schools conduct their work with the avowed aim of utilizing at all times the interests of the children. Some guide these interests, and some do not. They mark a decided step forward, towards creative work, with retentive and more effective learning. Schools are being created in which Thomas Edison could have found a place and received his education far more comfortably and quickly than he did.

We now approach the main problem: What should be taught in such a creative school that a child may become socially efficient?

First, it is obviously essential that a socially efficient person shall be able to read and write well, to keep constantly in touch with the world's development and to communicate with other members of society. For effective coöperation with his neighbors, he should have some knowledge of mathematics to solve such numerical situations as may confront him. Perhaps even more important is it that he should be physically fit. This implies that he should have such muscular and bodily coördinations that he may use his hands and senses to appreciate and enjoy the environment

in which he lives. He must have such knowledge of the development and problems of his own people and those of other times and places that he may judge justly the value of the changes in his own social surroundings. He must, last but perhaps most important, have such moral or social training that he may become a part of the society in which he lives, meeting its demands enjoyably without friction. When these large groups of educational content are taught, with due consideration for the interests of the child and with due attention to his limits of comprehension, it should be possible to develop socially efficient citizens.

Our curriculum may thus be divided into four fundamental groups.

The first group we choose to call "mathematics." It includes only such basal mathematical operations as it is necessary to know in an entirely automatic manner for any effective use. Drill methods, carefully selected for good motives and interest and complete learning, are the indicated procedure.

A second group we may call "English." It includes the drill portion of the ordinary English program. In this group we have such portions of language activity as are essential to the development of what is often called "tool facility." Spelling and penmanship are of course within this group—taught with due regard to social effectiveness as an aim and not with any view of theoretical completeness.

The third field, a very vital group, may be labeled "social studies." In reality, it is a unitary study of society. The radical departure from present procedure lies in this portion of the educative task. A student today may be studying English literature, United States history, the geography of South America, the science of Germany, the art of the Italians, the music of the French, the folk dances of Sweden, the hygiene of our own community, and the handwork of some other nation! What a hodgepodge! Can we wonder that some children become scatter brained, when we see this neglect of associations, interests, and a

focus of learning—all insisted on by the psychologists as needful for effective learning.

The plan is here suggested that we make one large unit in this group, in which we combine literature, civics, history, geography, science, and hygiene in their actual human interrelationships. This far transcends the scope of a "unified social science" as hesitatingly tried out in some contemporary school systems, and is designed to link each and every one of these subheads of human activity and knowledge to the interests that the children already possess.

Our fourth group, named "physical studies" or "motor subjects," will include physical training, manual training, art, and music. These are to be interrelated, as with the social studies, and are to be tied to the interests aroused, the knowledges gained, and the attitudes produced by the social subject matter. The confusion that children get by the demarcation of narrow but overlapping fields of knowledge will vanish.

Within these four groupings, opportunities offer for doing much of the needed social and moral training. The opportunities are embarrassingly many. The unitary nature of the groupings avoids duplication of effort and provides single foci of attention.

All that has hitherto been said has purposely been written from the point of view of subject matter rather than that of child expression. The purpose is to coördinate subject matter so that there is opportunity for self-expression to operate fully. The hint has been derived from the experience of teachers with the project organization of school work, in which subject-matter boundaries have had to be crossed and creative activity has flourished to the extent that this was done. We cite the case of investigating the Pilgrim fathers and the Puritan colonies. Their history is controlled by the rigorous New England climate; their art and literature show the impress of hardship and frugality; their home comforts were limited by their small

knowledge of science. The child must dip into geography, hygiene, and science, to get any grasp of the history, art, literature, and life conditions of the New England colonies.

Such educative activity is in marked contrast to the educational practice that exists. Despite all attempts to avoid it, we require children to assimilate in memory various unrelated facts and to learn to habituation certain practices. These must be held in "mental cold storage" until they are required—perhaps in adult life.

The unifying thread that unites the four groups into one dominant educational purpose of social efficiency is self-expression. Even in the mathematical and language-drill fields, this activity is possible; this is the activity for which the proviso was made in describing these fields. The social and motor fields give the children the opportunity to live through the existence of the past and to evolve into their own conscious social life. They cannot do this without abundant opportunities for self-expression, and they cannot use these opportunities without developing social judgments. Thus self-expression becomes the unifying method of producing the socially effective citizen.

We live, as has so often been insisted upon by thoughtful educators, in a world that has rapidly changed and that continues to change even more rapidly. The unitary arrangement of subject matter provides the factual and habit background for coping with such a world; and the self-activity is designed to develop the complex group of reactions labeled "judgment." The unitary arrangement of subject matter, divided into four groups only for convenience in administration, is further designed to prevent loss of educative results after school years are ended. Without it, self-expression may develop judgment; but judgment without adequate facts and attitudes is ineffective.

Only when the background and the judgment are both developed can the schools produce socially effective citizens. Only with unified subject matter and the guiding thread of self-expression, through the treatment of the curriculum, can the schools train adequately for social efficiency.

THE HOME AS A TEACHER-TRAINING AGENCY

G. G. Hill and P. W. Hutson

We who are engaged in teacher training are much gratified by the increasing recognition of the need for professional education for the teacher. In our satisfaction with this trend there is danger that we shall overestimate the value of what we do in preparing teachers for service. It must be remembered that the teacher-training institution does not begin its work upon the aspirant for the profession until after he has grown to adulthood; he has passed through his most plastic years; he has been subjected to a myriad of environmental influences; and he arrives upon the campus with an equipment of which we have no very significant inventory and to which we can add relatively little.

Considering, then, the limitations under which we labor in *training* teachers, it follows that we may perform a signal service by *selecting* teachers, especially in these days when we are blessed with such an abundance of candidates. To date, however, we have performed that function only with standards of intellectual capacity and attainment in mind. High-school graduates are an intellectually selected group, and those who seek training for the teaching profession come from this group. Further selection goes on while students are passing through the professional school, and the basis is almost always that of scholarship. This emphasis on the intellectual quality of the teacher has resulted in such a product that seldom indeed is a teacher dismissed for lack of scholarship.

But studies of the causes of teacher failure show that most dismissals are attributed to weaknesses in character and personality. As an example, we may look at the most frequently mentioned causes of failure found by Nanninga[1] in his canvass of the opinions of a large number of school

[1] S. P. Nanninga, "Teacher Failures in High Schools," *School and Society*, XIX (January 19, 1924), pp. 79-82.

administrators in several Western States. A portion of his tabulation is as follows:

Reasons	*Frequency*
Discipline	38
Coöperation	33
Poor instruction	16
Preparation	16
Lack of interest	14
Lazy	12
Judgment	10

Defects in character and personality are denoted by all of these reasons except the third and fourth which may be said to signify shortcomings in elements which teacher-training institutions quite definitely aim to supply.

A similar list is that assembled by Morrison,[2] derived from his record of forty interviews with superintendents and school board members who came to him in quest of teachers. He classified the causes which led to the dismissal of teachers under the following headings, for each of which the numerical frequency of mention is given:

Poor discipline	17
Inability to coöperate	14
Gossip	11
Immorality, sexual	11
Lack of teaching skill	10
Disloyalty	9
Inability to get along with pupils	8
Unwise choice of social companions	8
No desire for professional growth	7
Irresponsibility	6
Critical of colleagues	6
Immediate departure from building at dismissal of pupils	5
Tardiness in reporting for duty	5
Laziness	5
Lack of school interest	5
No community interest	5

There were twenty-nine additional categories of causes, mentioned with frequencies of from one to four, of which

[2]R. H. Morrison, "Factors Causing Failure in Teaching," *Journal of Educational Research*, XVI (September, 1927), pp. 98-105.

only one—"Ignorance of school law"—may not be classified as a defect in character or personality. Of those here reproduced, the reader will note only one—"Lack of teaching skill"—which refers to such capacities as professional schooling may be expected to contribute. If it may be surmised by some that "poor discipline" refers primarily to the absence of a technique for which the training school is responsible, reference to Morrison's report of his investigations will show that such an opinion is hardly justified. He lists the seventeen items which he has classified under that rubric, and a casual reading shows that all are indicative of defects in character or personality.

Evidently, selection on the basis of character and personality is much needed, and the responsibility for exercising this function should devolve primarily upon the teacher-training rather than the teacher-hiring agency because the former has the best opportunity to discharge it. It is easier, however, to point out this task than to perform it.

The data which this article contributes afford no help in the form of ways and means. Perhaps, however, by illuminating a most important source from which the character and personality of the teacher are derived, the problem of securing teachers adequately endowed in these respects may be seen in truer perspective. The policies of many teacher-training institutions in admitting all high-school graduates, in asking for no entrance records except those pertaining to scholarship, and in making no organized analysis of their students during the course of training, all suggest that too little consideration is given to the effects already produced by earlier educational agencies. Psychologists assure us that the fundamental traits of character and personality are largely formed in very early life. Among the forces determining those qualities, none is of greater consequence than the home, and it is the purpose of this article to make home influence in the training of successful teachers more clear by presenting a partial analysis of it.

To procure the data for making the analysis, the procedure was as follows: From a list of six recent graduating classes of the Department of Commerce, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa., the head of the department, with the advice of other members of his immediate faculty, selected the one hundred individuals who were most outstanding as successful teachers. Careful inquiry of all the principals, superintendents, and supervisors who had made professional contact with these teachers resulted finally in the list being reduced to seventy, due to the dropping of all those on whose standing as really excellent teachers any doubt was cast. To the parents of these selected young teachers of commercial subjects, a friendly letter was written, requesting them to write informally "some of the things you believe to be essential in training children—some of the things you have done in training yours." Sixty-two replies were received.

Each letter was analyzed for the training elements it had to yield, and during this process a classification and organization of the items was gradually worked out. When the organization was finally settled, the placing of each item was carefully checked. It must be obvious that the task of derivation of pertinent items from these letters and classifying them in discrete categories offered many difficulties. The letters presented ideals, practical ways and means, the results of experience, and baffling mixtures of generalities and specifics. Employment of such a source naturally involved a large degree of subjective judgment.

The following outline shows the items mentioned by five or more parents:

OUTLINE OF DESIRABLE ELEMENTS IN HOME TRAINING MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED BY 62 PARENTS OF HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS

	Frequencies
A. General home environmental factors	
I. Statements indicating general religious atmosphere in home	
1. Christian training in the home	11
2. Christian ideals in the home	5
3. Parental reliance on divine assistance	7

	Frequencies
II. Parental devotion to task of bringing up children	
1. Father pays tribute to mother's devotion to children	16
2. Parents coöperated, "pulled together"	11
3. Miscellaneous statements of devotion to the task	34
III. Home training present and evident	9
IV. Parents maintaining youthful spirit	5
V. Attention to general atmosphere of the home, as:	
1. Making the house a home	5
2. Making the home a happy one	7
3. Creating proper home environment	14
4. Making home attractive	8
VI. Parental love for and pride in children	14
B. Influence through parental example of right living	30
C. Training	
I. Kinds of training	
1. Health (general and specific mentions)	7
2. Towards specific character and personality traits, as follows:	
a) Virtue in general	24
b) Obedience to and respect for parents and elders	49
c) Industry—especially as exemplified in the practice of useful home arts	26
d) Honesty	21
e) Respect for rights of others	20
f) High ideals and pure motives	17
g) Thrift	14
h) Love for home and parents	10
i) Studiousness	9
j) Truthfulness	9
k) Self-confidence	9
l) Ambition	8
m) Deference	7
n) Charity, broad-mindedness, tolerance	6
o) Sincerity	6
p) Good manners	6
q) Fairness	6
r) Sense of responsibility	5
s) Happiness	5
t) Earnestness—concern about life	5
u) Personal neatness	5
3. Religious	
a) Love and reverence for God	6
b) Knowledge of God's grace and demands	9

	Frequencies
c) To an observance of religious practices	
(1) Attending church	24
(2) Attending Sunday school	19
II. Time to begin training is in babyhood and early childhood	41
III. Miscellaneous ways and means of training	
1. Negative statements	
a) Don't scold	5
b) Restrict the number of movies	5
c) Don't nag children	6
d) Place restrictions on going out	25
e) Don't let children run the streets	8
f) Don't neglect children by absence from home	13
g) Avoid unreliable nurses and guardians	5
2. Positive statements	
a) Discipline properly	5
b) Lead children in the right direction	5
c) Use patience, tact, and diplomacy	5
d) Punish when necessary	7
e) Show appreciation of their abilities and accomplishments	17
f) Gain confidence of children	30
g) Explain proper things for children to do	18
h) Explain pitfalls to children	14
i) Rule with love but firmly	15
j) Be kind to children	6
k) Encourage reading good literature	8
l) Encourage school work	30
m) Help children choose proper companions	35
n) Treat children as children when young	5
o) Share pleasures with children	7
p) Be watchful over children—know where they are	13
q) Allow proper amount of freedom	6
r) Get children's viewpoints and respect opinions	10
IV. Training through observance of recreational and social needs and tendencies	
1. Provide time for play and pleasure	5
2. Encourage good sports	5
3. Permit card playing and dancing in the home	5
4. Provide amusements in the home	11
5. Encourage parties	5
6. Encourage entertaining friends in the home	20
7. Supervise proper use of leisure time	5
V. Training through exercising certain attitudes towards children	
1. Sympathetic attention to childish interests and troubles	19

	Frequencies
2. Close association fostered	49
3. Placing trust and confidence in children	28
4. Truthfulness with children	7

Three major divisions seemed necessary; namely, "General home environmental factors," "Influence through parental example of right living" (with no subdivisions), and "Training." Under the last of these the bulk of the items fell, and they seemed classifiable as "Kinds of training," "Time to begin training," "Miscellaneous ways and means of training," "Training through observance of recreational and social needs and tendencies," and "Training through exercising certain attitudes towards children." Scanning the outline as a whole, we sense the aspirations of these parents for their children and note the variety of procedures mentioned. There is much good practical psychology apparent, much evidence of a fine recognition of child nature and of human nature in general. Regardless of the informality and inadequacy of the source from which these data were gathered, and the fact that only those items mentioned with a frequency of five or more are here set forth, the limitless ramifications and the countless situations which the business of being a parent involves are rather well intimated in this outline. Here we have reëmphasized the potency of the family as an educational institution. Here, indeed, are suggested the length, the breadth, and the depth of character and personality formation.

A comparison of this outline with the causes of teacher failure listed at the beginning of this article reveals the significance of the home as a teacher-training agency. The parents of these successful teachers have labored in the formative years to create in their children qualities which are the antitheses of those named as causing the failure of teachers. In some way, teacher-training institutions must take this influence more largely into account if they would send forth better teachers.

Furthermore, it is well to bear in mind that we may be

on the eve of a shift in our conception of school aims which will greatly accentuate the demand for truly splendid character and personality in the teacher. That will be the case if we accept the vision of Terman[3] that "we shall in time place more emphasis than we do now upon the ethical and social ends of education and care more than we do now about making a school a wholesome place in which to live, . . . that we shall stress, to a greater degree than we now do, the child's attitudes and interests as contrasted with his scholastic achievement." Such a school can never be staffed with teachers who have "taken courses," "earned credits," and thereby acquired a showy veneer of learning. It will require leaders possessing thoroughly ingrained habits and ideals of the best citizenship, qualities of nobility not now assured by a college degree, and good principles that have become second nature through long usage.

[3] L. M. Terman, Editorial, *Journal of Educational Research*, XVII (January, 1928), p. 57.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE: *It is designed to make this department a clearing house* (1) *for information about current research projects of interest to educational sociology and* (2) *for ideas with reference to research methods and techniques in this field.*

Readers are urged to report their own research projects and to submit information regarding other projects of which they have knowledge. Suggestions as to methods of research will be welcomed and will be given publicity in this department. Specimen questionnaires and plans for research in educational sociology will be given careful criticism if desired.

From time to time this department will also make its readers acquainted with research resources in educational sociology. Contributions of this type from readers will also be welcomed.

It is desirable to make the program of research in educational sociology a coöperative one. To this end the names and addresses of those engaged upon research projects will usually be given in order that readers may exchange with them ideas upon related projects.

SOCIAL ANTECEDENTS OF AN INTERSTITIAL AREA

A study of the social antecedents of an interstitial area in upper Manhattan, New York City, a district which is predominantly Italian, has been completed in connection with the Boys' Club Study of New York University.[1] The problem of this study involves the questions: how did this area become a slum? and what were its antecedents?

The study first takes up the settlement of the area, the uses to which it was put under Dutch and then English occupancy, and finally post-Revolution uses when the whole of upper Manhattan was built up with estates. The settlement and subsequent transitions from one use to another were accompanied and often dominated by changes in transportation facilities and land values which were equally significant.

With regard to the question as to why this district became a slum, it seems that the slum moved uptown with other

[1]This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Mr. Nels Anderson who made the study.

uses of space, paralleling the migration of the rich and exclusive areas as it also did that of the slaughter houses, waste dumps, and shanty settlements. The occupants of the district had previously lived in other slums farther downtown. The movement uptown was generally from the less desirable to the more desirable dwellings. The first migrants from an old area into a new one were generally those who could pay the higher rent. Their places were taken by other slum dwellers moving in from still less desirable quarters.

Moving uptown, the slum went where it could; that is, where it was tolerated. The well-to-do moved uptown to the sites which were higher and more desirable for residential purposes and the slum followed to occupy the less desirable portions of the district. This movement was determined in general by a demand for housing which was generally outrunning the supply, putting a constant premium on speculation in real estate and building which in turn led to an equally insistent demand for improved transportation.

The first migration of the slum was determined by the reach of the new horse cars. When the horse car was replaced by the steam elevated lines and the cable street cars, there was another migration and the flats in the upper part of Manhattan which had formerly been only sparsely settled were built up solidly with tenements.

These flats, occupying much of the area of the district, had always been marshy with occasional inlets and ponds which were flushed by the tides. In the 1860's and 1870's the whole of the low area was used as a garbage dump and for years was a very offensive spot because of the odors emanating therefrom. This part of the area was occupied by the shanty population It was thought that the area would ultimately be occupied by industry, but opposition from local residents forced the removal of the slaughterhouses and also a change in the methods of dumping garbage. The region therefore became a zone of tenements.

Perhaps the outstanding theme of this study is that the

growth of the city is a related phenomenon; that the growth of the slum, for instance, is only incidental to the development of other urban areas. While the slum is a changing fact, it is also a persistent fact. It submits to welfare efforts by migrating, but not without being changed somewhat. Thus, it remains a problem but not the same kind of problem. The data available do not reveal whether the evolution which finally results is due to reform and welfare movements or to the forces of competition.

This conclusion, namely, that there is logic in the existence, the nature, and the movements of the slum, while it is not new to social science, is not being recognized by either educators or social workers. Inasmuch as the problems with which they labor are so often the product of such a complex of forces, the responsibility comes to rest on educators and social workers to approach these problems with an ever-increasing perspective. So many modern social problems do involve the slum; but the slum itself is only one of many related phenomena in the total pattern of the city. The study, in calling attention to this fact, makes a contribution.

The methods of the study are essentially historical. The materials are presented descriptively according to topics but chronologically within each unit. The data were gathered from old New York newspaper files, from New York biographies, from public records, from old New York guides, and from other primary sources. The study includes twelve maps and a number of tables relative to population, housing, and changing land values.

Child Guidance Fellowship

The Institute for Child Guidance for New York City[2] has offered six one-year fellowships in child guidance to psychiatrists ($2,500 each) and three one-year fellowships to psychologists ($1,500 each). Well-qualified persons in this field will be eligible to apply for the fellowship which

[2]Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, 145 E. 57th Street, New York City.

will include a study of psychiatry, psychology, social service, and general medicine.

Commission Studies Prisons

A commission of seven members appointed by Governor Roosevelt and the legislature to study prison administration and construction is engaged in two specific studies of certain aspects of the New York State prison system. One of them is the problem of establishing a system for selecting men to be assigned to "nonsecurity" prisons; the other is examining and inspecting plans for types of new prison construction to be used as a basis of recommendation for New York State.

Research Studies in Education

Recognizing the increasing importance of educational research and the enlarging literature on the subject, the office of education of the Department of the Interior has published a *Bibliography of Research Studies in Education: 1928-1929.*[3] The purpose of the bibliography is to guide educational investigators through the literature and research studies in their specialized fields. The present bibliography aims to cover the entire field of educational research and "to serve as an aid to persons interested in any phase of educational investigation." It represents the third such list printed by the Office of Education and includes research studies in education completed during the school year 1928-1929.

> In order to obtain the material for this volume, letters of inquiry were sent to all agencies known to be engaged in educational research, including colleges and universities, city and State research bureaus, and educational organizations. This bibliography lists the masters' and doctors' theses and other research investigations reported in reply to these letters. In addition to the studies reported, we have listed research articles which have appeared in various educational periodicals during the period covered. . . .
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> The annotations for many of the investigations were furnished by the author or the institution reporting the study; annotations for other studies and for the periodical articles have been made in

[3] Bulletin No. 23, 1930.

this office. Both published and unpublished studies are included in the list, with complete bibliographic data for each whenever the information was available. The unpublished studies are for the most part masters' and doctor's theses.[4]

In addition to a special listing for educational sociology research studies bearing on the following topics will be of particular interest to educational sociology: International Aspects of Education, Child Study, Educational Research, Individual Differences, Special Subjects of Curriculum, Teacher Training, Professional Status of Teachers, Higher Education, School Administration, School Management, Health Education, Physical Training, Play and Recreation, Social Aspects of Education, Child Welfare, Rural Education, Moral Education, Religious and Church Education, Manual and Vocational Training, Educational and Vocational Guidance, Civic Education, Education of Women, Education of Racial Groups, and Education of Exceptional Children.

[4]Bulletin No. 23, pp. IX-X.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Long View, by MARY E. RICHMOND. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, 648 pages.

Readers of this volume will be continually impressed with Mary Richmond, not only as a woman but as a social worker. Her breadth of knowledge, her understanding of people and their motives, and her strength of personality made her one of the leaders of this century. Social work meant more to her than giving alms or securing employment. It meant a life of service dedicated to the analysis of forces which affect the social life of a community. Her foresight enabled her to contribute immeasurably to our program of social betterment.

In *The Long View* she discusses among other things the technique of casework, the relationship of agencies and organizations, the war and its effect upon community and home life, and that ever present problem of employment.

Miss Richmond devoted her life to the study of civilization and its problems. Her unusual experience and familiarity with all phases of social work prepared her to be a prophet of her time. She welcomed new ideas and calmly evaluated them without fear on the basis of her own practical interpretation of the need. Her attitude cannot be better stated than in her own words, "The radicals think I'm a conservative and the conservatives think I'm a radical and they're both surprised that I manage to keep in the procession."

The philosophy which underlies Miss Richmond's ideals of social work emphasizes the position which all those working for a cause might well emulate, "the art of doing different things for and with different people by coöperating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment."

Those who seek a better understanding of the problems underlying social progress will, through this book, become orientated and learn "to take the long view, to realize that the very stars in their courses, not our small army alone, are overcoming the weakness and misery of the world."

RHEA KAY BOARDMAN

City Noise, Report of the Noise Abatement Commission of the City of New York. New York: The Academy Press, 1930, 301 pages.

The problem of health of the present time consists fundamentally in the adaptation of the individual to his complex environment. The development of modern civilization has brought with it numerous problems, such as the selection of food, the provision of adequate exercise and recreation, the adjustment to the complexities of the street and other urban life.

Among the problems affecting health and physical fitness is that of noise and this is particularly vital to the New Yorker surrounded by subways, elevated roads, automobiles, radios, and the countless thousands of noise-making devices incident to our city life.

A recent study of city noise by a commission appointed by Dr. Shirley W. Wynne, Commissioner of Health of New York City, gives a comprehensive report of the effect of noise upon health and physical fitness in the City of New York. The limitation of space prevents an adequate treatment of this extraordinary report. It is, however, sufficient to say that Dr. Wynne has selected an outstanding committee of specialists and they have prepared a report that every citizen and particularly every educator in the metropolitan area should read.

General familiarity with the facts presented in this report ought to bring about a marked change for the better in the conditions reported.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

Rural Social Science, by GUSTAV A. LUNDQUIST and CLYDE B. MOORE. New York: Ginn and Company, 1929, 467 pages.

Rural Social Science is a first effort to provide a textbook for students of the rural high school. Is there a rural problem separate and distinct from urban or national life? The authors of the volume have decided that such a problem exists and have set about writing a treatise to help "socialize secondary education through social science by acquainting the student with American life." The method of treatment is historical and evolutionary. Much of the material in the volume was tried out by rural high-school teachers in manuscript form. This should add to its validity and usefulness. There are eight parts to the book. These are, rural social background, moral and mental factors, rural social factors, religions, activities, education, political institutions, economics, and social service and leadership. Thus the authors have attempted to give a composite treament of the problem of rural life. The book is not without its faults, but in a pioneer production they seem inconsequential and will not be noted here. Suggested reading lists, problems for discussion, illustrations, graphs, and tables are an added feature of the volume. The reviewer commends the authors in their undertaking and recommends the book as a helpful guide in understanding rural community life.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Introduction to Rural Sociology, by CHARLES RUSSELL HOFFER. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1929, 418 pages.

Here is a volume that has grown out of the author's ten years of experience teaching rural sociology to students in liberal arts and agricultural colleges. It is a "sociological interpretation of facts pertaining

to rural life that appear to have significance in all sections of the country," chiefly on the level of an applied science. Researches in the field of rural and agricultural life have been widely used as sources of data of the book.

The contents of the book fall into three parts: Part I, the rural population and its characteristics and made up of nine chapters; Part II, rural social institutions of five chapters; and Part III, rural social organization of six chapters.

The book is written in an easy, interesting style. The author has made a serious constructive effort to formulate a science of rural life. The intelligent layman as well as the college student will find the volume useful and helpful in understanding the growing problems of the increasingly class-conscious agriculturists. Our legislative halls ring with the voice of the rural-minded leader, as well as the critic of the former. In reality, the problems of one or the problems of the other. One lays the book down with a feeling that the rural life is but one segment of our national life and social and economic development.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Community Conflict. New York: The Inquiry, 1929, 156 pages.

Social conflict as a basis of interest and investigation has been returned to the category of problems of vital importance and significance to the sociologist and students of social and community life. *Community Conflict* is a constructive attempt by the use of case studies in social conflict to give helpful guidance to community leaders through discussion outlines. It is the belief of the authors of the volume that conflict may be resolved through discussion. The conception is simple, reasonable, and common sense; in practice it has been effective. To those interested in better community relationships and leadership, this handbook is suggestive, usable, and meets the problem concretely and scientifically.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Pupil Citizenship, by GEORGE W. DIEMER and BLANCHE V. MULLEN. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1930, 339 pages.

The writers of our civic-education program have been telling us for some time that ready-made knowledge about our civic life, gained in school, in and through an arbitrary teacher-controlled environment, is sterile and futile. Direct knowledge of civic duties does not make good active citizens. The volume herein reviewed leaves behind the "deferred values" of the older conception of education and emphasizes "training in citizenship." The authors believe that the civic-social life of the school shall be the basis of the educative process. Further, that the interest of the pupil, pupil participation, and shared responsibility are

basic to the new education for good citizenship. This manual and guide for the teacher is organized in two parts; the first three chapters set forth the principles and standard. The remaining chapters, IV to XIII, are devoted to the suggested practical programs. The programs of activities make use of the homeroom, the organizations in the school, the school papers, the bulletin boards, the health, the safety, the thrift, and the reading activities of the pupils. None of this program is thought of as extracurricular. The book has behind it the further merit of practical experimentation and adaptation in a teachers college and certain schools in the public schools of Kansas City. The volume gives useful and helpful guidance to the teachers of civic education.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Sin and the New Psychology, by CLIFFORD E. BARBOUR. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1930, 269 pages.

This book is one of the most stimulating and challenging that has come to the reviewer's attention for some time. The author assumes that the behavioristic approach leads to pure mechanism and that the behaviorist considers man as a robot or a machine. The author fails to take into account that there are several kinds or schools of behaviorism. In his search for a psychology that will reveal the cause of man's purposive strivings, he turns to psychoanalysis. For him, the psychoanalysts are the new psychologists. "Dr. Barbour is confronted not with denunciation but with reasoned argument, the fairly common view that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense because 'complexes' now are all. So far from an internecine conflict obtaining between Christian teaching about sin and the new psychology he urges that in a very real degree they are pursuing the same end. The method of psychotherapy, as he contends, is in principle identical with that which Christianity employs for the cure and eradication of sin. Psychic evil (or moral diseases) and sin are not the same; but, as is here shown, a real and sympathetic comparison can be drawn between the redemptive proposals of the Christian gospel and the process of psychoanalysis." It is from this point of view that the author treats of such major topics as temptation and the unconscious, conscience and ambivalence, the inferiority complex, repression, transference, and sublimation. The ideas of Christian thinkers of the past are translated into the technical language of the psychoanalyst. In fact, "psychoanalysis actually offers confirmatory evidence to the teaching of the Christian Church regarding the nature and action of sin and the method of achieving freedom from sin." In other words, psychoanalysis is a new witness to the truth of Christ. Psychoanalysis is bent on aiding man to harmony within himself and in his finite environment; Christianity goes further, and seeks to cure sin by putting him right with God. Included in the discussion are interesting chapters on: Importance of the Study, A Sketch of the New Psychology, The Christian Doctrine of Sin, Psychic

Evil and the Science of Sin, Original Sin and the Unity of the Race, Temptation and the Unconscious Impulse, Conscience and Ambivalence, The Sense of Guilt and the Inferiority Complex, Complexes and Repression, Forgiveness and Transference, Sanctification and Sublimation.

The book is written in an interesting style. The author shows a thorough knowledge of psychoanalysis. In the reviewer's judgment it is erroneous to identify the new psychology with psychoanalysis rather than the *Gestalt* psychology or any other of the several existing brands. It appears that the author neither understands the limitations of psychoanalysis nor the viewpoints of the behaviorists, functionalists, configurationists, and purposivists. Sin might be treated equally well from any of these standpoints. While psychoanalysis may contribute much to its understanding, there is no reason why any one should believe that it is the only approach to the subject. CHARLES E. SKINNER

Piloting Your Life, by JOSEPH JASTROW. New York: Greenberg, 1930, 372 pages.

This is a companion volume to the author's *Keeping Mentally Fit,* and like it, it is a compilation of short sketches which appeared in newspapers over a period of time.

In the first volume the author "undertook to familiarize the lay mind with the message and finds of modern psychology in all the many aspects in which the interpretation of our mental nature affects behavior." The author finds a dominant note in the guidance towards better control of the mind's machinery.

In this volume the writer assembles the scattered precepts and principles in an informal way. The attempt was made to popularize the trend of the subject that is so frequently expressed in academic terms.

Topics covered in this work include the temper of childhood, the adult stature, the gist of heredity, the play of environment, varieties of endowment, disabilities, hampering trends, mental hygiene, the normal way, attitudes, aspects, shifting horizons, principles of issues, the human documents.

The book is well adapted to lay minds. The style, while simple, is not always easy. At times the discussions become tedious. The author, however, has done creditable work in his attempt to popularize psychology. The majority of popularizers in the past have been pseudo-psychologists, rather than psychologists. A work such as this will be read by many psychologists as well as lay readers.

CHARLES E. SKINNER

Statistics for Teachers, by ERNEST W. TIEGS and CLAUDE C. CRAWFORD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, 212 pages.

In recent years there has been a number of elementary and advanced

texts and workbooks in educational statistics. This publication is a notable addition to the list. Simplicity is achieved without neglecting any of the essential techniques. A practical emphasis is given by numerous illustrations and suggested applications of statistical methods to educational data. These features are in harmony with the purpose as stated, "to meet the needs of the very large number of unspecialized educational workers" (p. ix).

There is nothing unique in the general outline of topics, but the chapters on "Why Study Statistics," "Labor Saving Devices," and "Principles of Statistical Research" are especially valuable additions. The true-false tests and questions at the end of chapters should be of aid to students. The type, binding, and general appearance of the text are commendable.

The advanced student in the field of statistics will note the omission of many details which might have been included to advantage, but in view of the authors' stress upon "minimum essentials" this cannot be used as a point of criticism. Such additions may be made by the instructor as needed.

PAUL V. WEST

A Problem-Outline in Principles and Techniques of Educational Measurement, by MAXWELL G. PARKS. New York: The Century Co., 1930, 134 pages.

This book is organized in fifteen units. The first fourteen lay the foundation of principles and techniques and the fifteenth study lists some two hundred and fifty standard tests with outlines for appraising them. Each of the first fourteen units on the principles of measurement is in four parts: (a) the statement of the problem (with numerous references cited and questions asked, to point the discussion); (b) assigned laboratory exercises; (c) some form of student report on the work done in the laboratory section; (d) a series of true-false questions on the unit that may be used for testing or discussion or both. This problem outline should be very profitably used in courses in educational measurement.

DONALD SNEDDEN

College Biology, by HENRY R. BARROWS. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930, 414 pages.

College Biology is more the sort of book that goes well with a pipe, a deep comfortable chair, and a reflective mood of several hours' duration than the traditional college-level textbook with its columns of careful taxonomological data. But *College Biology* was designed for the exacting demands of systematic education. It is an exceptionally teachable book. The subject matter is comprehensive enough to satisfy any but the most fossilized academician. Its flexible organization makes it adaptable to a wide range of uses; from a basic course for further work in the science to a "one course" in general biology. A proper con-

sideration has been given to the study of those "types" that are demonstrable in the lecture room or laboratory. An abundance of uniquely large and clear diagrams supplement the text.

The organization of the book centers about three large biological conceptions: that life is a phenomenon of protoplasm, the cell, and organized aggregates of cells; that life has existed for a long time on the earth and tends to maintain its morphological and physiological continuity; that the equilibrium of life is constantly shifting grows from a consideration of the history of organic evolution. The evidences and theories of human evolution are developed at length. The relatively great amount of attention given to human biology, especially to the modern tendencies in endocrinology, neurology, genetics, evolution, and anthropology is very gratifying. The book is well indexed and there is a helpful appendix consisting of short biographies, a bibliography, and a glossary. CHARLES E. RENN

A First Book About Chaucer, by DOROTHY MARTIN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930, 120 pages.

This little book, with its intriguing picture of England's "first warbler" and his England, its sympathetic estimate of his art, and its intimate bits about his tales, forever young with the youth of human nature, should make the youthful reader eager to know, first hand, him of whom Dryden said, "Here is God's Plenty." ALFRED PEGUES

A First Book About Shakespeare, by DOROTHY MARTIN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930, 120 pages.

To the young reader who knows but little about the greatest English poet, this little book, in simple, clear, vivid language, with helpful illustrations and in attractive format, should come as a friend in need. In addition to the interesting story of the poet's life, the chapters recounting the various kinds of his plays and particularly the story of a representative of each kind, should send the young student eagerly to the plays themselves. ALFRED PEGUES

Acknowledging the receipt of the following review copies of books sent to THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, reviews of which will appear in early issues of THE JOURNAL:

Abnormal Psychology, by H. L. HOLLINGWORTH. New York: Ronald Press Company

Are We Civilized? by ROBERT H. LOWIE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company

Comparative Pupil Achievement, by M. J. VAN WAGENEN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. Edited by I. L. KANDEL. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University

History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women, by DOROTHY S. Ainsworth. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company

Kuhlman-Binet Tests, by FLORENCE L. GOODENOUGH. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Measurement of Man, by J. A. HARRIS, C. M. JACKSON, D. G. PATERSON, and R. E. SCAMMON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Methods in Social Science, edited by STUART A. RICE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

New Generation, by V. F. CALVERTON and SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN. New York: The Macaulay Company

New Girls for Old, by PHYLLIS BLANCHARD and CARLYN MANASSES. New York: The Macaulay Company

Objective Psycho-Pathology, by G. V. HAMILTON. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company

Our New Ways of Thinking, by GEORGE BOAS. New York: Harper and Brothers

Parents and the Pre-School Child, by WILLIAM E. BLATZ and HELEN BOTT. New York: William Morrow and Company

Personality Adjustments of School Children, by CAROLINE B. ZACHRY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

Physical Capacity Tests, by FREDERICK RAND ROGERS. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company

Physical Education for Elementary Schools, by N. P. NEILSON and WINIFRED VAN HAGEN. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company

Point Scale of Performance Tests, by GRACE ARTHUR. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications

Postwar Progress in Child Welfare, The Annals. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science

Principles of Adolescent Education, by RALPH DORNFELD OWEN. New York: Ronald Press Company

Problems of Neurosis, by ALFRED ADLER. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation

Problems of Pre-School Children, by MARIE AGNES TILSON. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University

Problems of Stuttering, by JOHN MADISON FLETCHER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work at San Francisco, 1929. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Personality Investigation, 1929. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press

Psychiatric Study of Problem Children, by SANGER BROWN, II, and HOWARD W. POTTER. Utica: State Hospitals Press

Psycho-Analysis, by ERNEST JONES. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith

Psychological Service for School Problems, by GERTRUDE H. HILDRETH. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company

Psychologies of 1930, edited by CARL MURCHISON. Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press

Psychologist Keeps House, by EDWINNA ABBOTT COWAN and LAURA THORNBOROUGH. Minneapolis: The Midwest Company

Psychology of Adolescence, by FOWLER D. BROOKS. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Psychology of the Infant, by SIEGFRIED BERNFELD. New York: Brentanos

Reading Interests and Habits of Adults, by WILLIAM S. GRAY and RUTH MUNROE. New York: The Macmillan Company

Reconstructing Behavior in Youth, by WILLIAM HEALY, AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, EDITH M. H. TAYLOR, and J. PRENTICE MURPHY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics, by MARY AUGUSTA CLARK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications

Research and Thesis Writing, by JOHN C. ALMACK. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Rural Girls in the City for Work, by O. LATHAM HATCHER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Scholarships for Children of Working Age, by ESTHER LADEWICK. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Selected Readings in Character Education, edited by DENNIS CLAYTON TROTH. Boston: The Beacon Press

Series on Childhood Education, edited by PATTY SMITH HILL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons

Sleep, by DONALD A. LAIRD and CHARLES G. MULLER. New York: The John Day Company

Social Control of the Mentally Deficient, by STANLEY POWELL DAVIES. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company

Social Psychology, by E. T. KRUEGER and WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: Longmans, Green and Company

Social Psychology, by KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Social Service Exchange in Chicago, by ELIZABETH A. HUGHES and FRANCELIA STUENKEL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Social Welfare Laws of the Forty-eight States. Des Moines: Wendell Huston Company

Social Work Year Book, 1929. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Source Book for Vocational Guidance, by EDNA E. WATSON. New York: H. W. Wilson Company

Statistics in Social Studies, edited by STUART A. RICE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Structure and Meaning of Psycho-Analysis, by WILLIAM HEALY, AUGUSTA F. BRONNER, and ANNA MAE BOWERS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Student Participation in School Government, by JERRY J. VINELAND and CHARLES F. POOLE. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company

Studies of Savages and Sex, by ERNEST CRAWLEY. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company

Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, edited by PITRIM A. SOROKIN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Terror Dream, by GEORGE H. GREEN. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company

This Human Nature, by CHARLES DUFF. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation

Visiting Teacher at Work, by JANE F. CULBERT. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications

Which College? by RITA S. HALLE. New York: The Macmillan Company

World of the Blind, by PIERRE VILLY. New York: The Macmillan Company

Young Child and His Parents, by JOSEPHINE C. FOSTER and JOHN E. ANDERSON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Young Cripple and His Job, by MARION HATHAWAY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

National Conference on College Hygiene

At Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, in May, 1931, there is to be held a National Conference on College Hygiene. The Conference, sponsored by the Presidents' Committee of Fifty on College Hygiene, The American Student Health Association, and the National Health Council, has a very clear-cut and definite purpose; namely, an agreement upon desirable minimum standards for colleges and universities concerning (1) health service, (2) health teaching, (3) interrelationship and correlations of student physical-welfare activities, and (4) miscellaneous problems, including those concerned with social hygiene, mental hygiene, tuberculosis, extracurricular activities, and other related problems which may be presented for consideration. Dr. Thomas A. Storey, of Stanford University, is chairman of the conference.

* * *

The Seventh Annual Junior High-School Conference

During Friday and Saturday of the week-end of March 13 and 14 will be held the seventh annual session of the Junior High-School Conference sponsored by the School of Education of New York University. The general session on Friday evening will be addressed by Dr. E. W. Butterfield, Commissioner of Education of Connecticut, and Superintendent N. W. Langworthy of Gloversville, New York. At the general session on Saturday morning Superintendent Ira T. Chapman of Elizabeth, New Jersey, will deliver the chief address on the problems of the junior high school. It has been the general plan to organize a number of round-table conferences following each of the general sessions for the conference this year. The topics for such conferences as now listed are:

1. Exploring Cultural Resources of the Community
2. Sociological Adjustment of Superior Children
3. Preparation of Teachers for the Junior High School Articulating with Life
4. Furthering Community Understanding of the Junior High School
5. The Boy and His Gang
6. World Peace as an Objective in Articulation with Life
7. Emotional Disturbances of the Junior-High-School Pupil
8. Junior-High-School Articulation with Community Needs and Opportunities in Health and Sanitation

* * *

The Eastern Association of Extension Education, formerly the Eastern Conference of Directors of Extension Education, will hold its second annual meeting at Asbury Park, New Jersey, April 9 and 10.

The purpose of the organization is to provide a central clearing house and an opportunity for the discussion of mutual problems among all of the Extension agencies in this section of the United States. The officers are Stephen C. Clement, Buffalo State Teachers College, president; A. Broderick Cohen, Hunter College, New York City, vice president; and F. J. Brown, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University, secretary-treasurer.

* * *

Indiana Child Health Conference

A conference on behalf of the welfare of the children of Indiana, towards which national authorities on child health, welfare, and education are expected to contribute, was held in Indianapolis on January 15, 16, and 17, 1931, according to an announcement by the State Health Commissioner, Dr. William F. King. The statement by Dr. King follows: "The most comprehensive movement ever attempted in behalf of the welfare of the children of Indiana is now under way and will culminate in a conference in Indianapolis on January 15, 16, and 17. By this conference, which will be addressed by the most eminent authorities on child health, welfare, and education in the nation, Indiana leads the way for her sister States in following up and carrying to the public the great message of health and welfare, the result of President Hoover's recent White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The Indiana conference which is to open in the Indiana National Guard armory, for the public throughout the State, is sponsored by every medical, social, and civic organization interested in the children of the State. The conference will mark an epoch in child health and welfare and is the summation of years of research and deliberation on the part of the most expert thought and endeavor concerning the welfare of the children in the nation."

* * *

The Eta Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu (the National Social Science organization) was organized on January 16 in New York University. Officers were elected and committees appointed for the remainder of the year. Dr. Clarence G. Dittmer of the sociology department of the Washington Square College was selected as the first president.

* * *

Dr. Malcolm D. Willey, professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota, will be granted leave of absence during the winter quarter of the present school year to work on President Hoover's national research committee on social trends from 1900 to 1930. Professor Willey will study especially changes in communication. He is joint editor with Professor Wilson D. Willis of *Readings in Sociology,* and his syllabus, "An Introduction to Sociology," was published in the fall by the University of Minnesota Press.

Dr. Howard E. Jensen, who has been chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Missouri during the present year, will join the staff of the department of sociology at Duke University next September. Professor Jensen is joining his former colleague, Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, who recently resigned at the University of Missouri to organize a new department of sociology at Duke.

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Professor Emory S. Bogardus, chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Southern California, was elected president of the American Sociological Society at the recent meeting of the Society at Cleveland, Ohio.

* * *

Mr. John Corey Taylor, formerly principal of Poe Junior High School of New York City, has been elected as assistant superintendent of schools of Baltimore.

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Dr. Harlan H. Horner has been appointed director of college education for the New York State Education Department.

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Professor A. G. Keller, head of the department of anthropology and sociology of Yale University, is spending his sabbatical leave in Europe during the present school year. Professor Maurice R. Davie is acting head during Dr. Keller's absence.

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Mr. E. A. Taylor, formerly of the University of Minnesota and Washington State College, has been appointed an instructor in the department of rural social organization at Cornell University.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Mr. G. G. Hill received his A.B. degree from Western Maryland College in 1919; his M.C. in Education from Susquehanna University in 1927; and his A.M. from the University of Pittsburgh in 1928. At present Mr. Hill is director of the department of commerce, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and has been serving in that capacity since 1919. Mr. Hill is the author of *Everyday Business Training.*

Dr. P. W. Hutson received his A.B. from Beloit College in 1913 and his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1925. Since 1922 he has been assistant and associate professor of secondary education at the University of Pittsburgh. Professor Hutson is the author of *The Scholarship of Secondary School Teachers.*

Professor J. Frank Day received his A.B. degree from the University of Utah and his A.M. and Ed.D. from the University of California. At present he is dean of the faculty and director of the School of Education at the Armstrong College of Business Administration, Berkeley, California. He was formerly director of education at the Territorial Normal School, Honolulu, T. H., and has wide experience as a high-school principal and county superintendent of schools in Utah.

Professor Emil Lange received his A.B. and A.M. degrees at the University of South Dakota and is working towards his doctorate in education in the extension and summer classes at the University of Southern California. Mr. Lange is director of curriculum of the Long Beach, California, city schools since 1925 and is also extension instructor in curriculum for the University of California since 1925. He has had twenty-two years of teaching and administrative experience in all types of schools, one year in Minnesota, twelve years in South Dakota, and nine years in California. He is summer-session instructor and lecturer at the University of South Dakota, University of Colorado, and New Mexico Normal University. Mr. Lange is a specialist in character training and has been active in setting up an effective program of this nature in the public schools of his district.

Dr. P. A. Maxwell is head of the department of education at the Peru State Teachers College, Peru, Nebraska. He taught for eleven years in the high schools of Western Pennsylvania and received the doctorate in secondary education from the University of Pittsburgh.

Professor C. L. Robbins received his A.B. at the University of Kansas in 1902, his A.M. at the same institution in 1903, and his Ph.D. at Columbia University in 1912. Dr. Robbins was teacher and principal of schools in Kansas until 1905; professor of methods at the Mon-

tana State Normal College, 1905-1909; assistant teacher of education at the New York City Training School for Teachers, 1910-1918; professor of education, State University of Iowa, from 1918 to the present time. Dr. Robbins is a member of the A.A.A.S., American Sociological Society, American History Association, Society for the Study of Education, College Teachers of Education, Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Delta Kappa, Acacia. He is the author of the following books: *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century, The School as a Social Institution, The Socialized Recitation* in conjunction with Elmer Green, *School History of the American People,* and many articles in various magazines.

Mr. Edward F. Waldron was born in Dighton, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of Brown University, 1917, receiving his Ph.B. degree. Mr. Waldron was principal of the Kimball Grammar School and Maple and Charter Street Schools in Massachusetts, and acting superintendent of schools for six months. He was superintendent of schools in Branford, Connecticut, and supervising principal of Union Township Public Schools, Union County, New Jersey. Mr. Waldron has taken graduate courses at Brown University, Yale University, and Extension Courses at Columbia University.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV APRIL, 1931 No. 8

EDITORIAL

We are indebted to Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, of the Lincoln School, for a timely and valuable review of The American Road to Culture,[1] *one of the most important recent contributions to the field of educational sociology. The review speaks for itself.*

The American Road to Culture is a searching though sympathetic analysis of the theory that underlies the American school. Its constructive suggestions are refreshing and its bold presentation of a new point of view makes it one of the most important books on education in a generation.

The author states that it is his purpose "to abstract from American social and educational practice the principles and ideas that shape the conduct and evolution of education in the United States." The belief that principles and practice may be discerned from the writings of great educators is rejected. The theory that is practised is frequently quite different from the theory that is promulgated in professional writings. From his analysis of practice the author derives ten principles which in his judgment govern the operation of the American school. Some of his conclusions upset cherished notions concerning the idealism

[1] *The American Road to Culture, A Social Interpretation of Education in the United States*, by George S. Counts, professor of education and associate director of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University (New York: John Day Company, 1930), 194 pages.

and services of American education. The main thesis is that the school has not found itself in the new industrial civilization. Our system of education is not lacking in a kind of idealism, but it lacks social direction and social objectives. Its policy is one of drift.

The great faith of the American people in education is accorded first place among the ten principles. But faith in education means faith in schooling. The discussion of the principles of governmental responsibility, local initiative, and the democratic tradition in American education will meet with general acceptance. Individual success is set forth as one of the great principles, in part the product of the frontier. A powerful tradition in American life, the ideal of the individualism that permeates education is largely that of material success. The principle of national solidarity is easily understood when the heterogeneous character of our population and our youth is considered. But the concern for national solidarity has colored our whole concept of the teaching of citizenship and out of it has grown a cult of patriotism which presents one of our most difficult contemporary problems. Closely connected with the principle of national solidarity is that of social conformity. In the world of practical affairs, the American people never show the slightest desire "to cling to anything merely because it was used by their grandfathers," but "in the wide areas of politics, economics, religion, they exhibit a decidedly different mentality. In this department of experience they seem to place no premium whatever upon invention and originality." Life becomes standardized, then, by invention in industry and lack of invention in social relationships. The American people are described as conservative in these social realms. The school inevitably becomes "an instrument for the perpetuation of the existing social order rather than a creative force in society." Most American educational theorists hold that the function of the school should be essentially conservative. Another school of thought believes that the school

should be an effective force for social reconstruction, but Dr. Counts contends that the weakness of the champions of the latter view lies in the fact that they have developed no social philosophy and make no practical proposals as to ways and means. As a result, the curriculum, even though under continuous reconstruction, continues to enforce the old concepts of social conformity.

The ideal of economic efficiency, in the opinion of the author, has greatly influenced American education. Each school system is operated like a big industry and has its hierarchy of administrative officers, with the teacher occupying the lowest place in the order. Objective measurement of achievement in school subjects has had a great vogue. The attention of teachers and students of education has been focused on the mechanics and more tangible symbols of school learning rather than upon the realities of education. This mechanistic concept and study of education comes in for biting strictures.

It is not surprising that Dr. Counts moves on to the conclusion that the principle of practical utility is the most powerful force in our education. We talk constantly in terms of the money value of education. The school is very sensitive to social demands in strictly utilitarian realms, but is largely oblivious of the great social, political, and moral problems of contemporary life. Even our educational psychology with its emphasis upon specific abilities and specific training strengthens the hold of this ideal of success. The great businessman is held before youth as the most heroic figure. The school, unwittingly perhaps, becomes an agency for fostering the evils of the profit motive in American life—surely one of the most serious and subtle problems of our culture.

According to *The American Road to Culture,* the school is guided largely by the concepts of the simple agrarian civilization of the nineteenth century, a culture that has already been swept away by the onrush of the industrial civilization. The school is not critical of contemporary

life. Citizenship is set up as an objective, but this objective has little meaning. The question is not asked as to the qualities that make good citizenship. Education becomes an instrument for the mass production of stereotyped minds.

Dr. Counts insists that in education, as in politics, economics, industry, the concept of social planning has found no lodgment in America. Notwithstanding the social forces that beat upon the schools, there is almost complete separation of the school from politics. The American people are afraid of indoctrination. They seem to be afraid of a conscious planning of life. The principle of philosophic uncertainty is then the outstanding characteristic of our educational thought. In its best sense, this principle is a very fine thing. It signifies the experimental attitude, the desire to proceed pragmatically in the search for truth. On the other hand, it signifies a lack of social theory underlying the practice of education. It may paralyze educational planning and leave the school a victim of the play of social forces. Professor Counts dedicates this book to John Dewey and acknowledges the fundamental contribution of experimentalism. But there is implied a criticism of this philosophy as not yet adequate to the complexity of a highly developed industrial culture. It will be interesting to hear further from Dr. Counts with regard to the philosophical problems involved in this thesis.

Dr. Counts writes in engaging style in the third person, as though he were a foreign observer, and he succeeds to a remarkable degree in achieving an atmosphere of detachment and an objective, unbiased point of view. *The American Road to Culture* is a challenge to every teacher and every student of education in this country. If the thesis that the school is handicapped by a lack of well-defined social objectives is widely accepted, this book may well mark a turning point. No writer has described with such a trenchant pen the divorce of American education from the realities of life.

SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATIONAL METHOD IN 1930

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

This article is to be taken as a sketch. Adequate treatment of the topic is not here feasible. Possibly other writers will be stimulated to follow it up, either to add or to develop or to correct As first proposed the topic contemplated a discussion of observable changes in educational method effected during the year 1930 by social factors. Since one year would probably show but slight changes, it has seemed better to limit the discussion to some influential factors which bear upon educational method, some to move method in one direction, others perhaps in another direction, some in effect to prevent motion. The real topic then is the play of social forces upon educational method in the United States of today.

Consideration alike of history and of contemporary life seems to show that education in the degree that it is intentionally directed is an effort to induct the child, the learner, into a kind of life approved by the inductor. Also there is usually some accompanying intent that the learner may by reason of this specially directed education more surely and efficiently bring about some desired state of affairs or maintain some approved order or institution.

The statement just made may sound a bit cynical and some may wish to modify it. If, however, the varying character of the approved kinds of life be considered, better agreement may result. Some parents or inductors may hold a very near and even selfish view as to the kind of life they wish from the learner. Parents, for example, may think most of their own immediate peace and comfort and try to make their children behave accordingly. In many times and places children have obviously been considered as economic assets and training has followed that line. Other parents and educators take a larger view, pos-

sibly for the child's happiness and success as an adult, possibly for the maintenance of a religious faith counted necessary to the welfare of all, possibly for the glory or well-being of the nation. Still others deny an intent to fix in detail the future either of the child or of society, but wish instead to bring up all the children to study and criticize life and then in the end make it better. Clearly the kinds of life (or life process) to be approved may vary widely. Even so, each one will have in mind some kind or manner of the social process which in some sense he counts better than what would otherwise obtain and in the light of which he directs his educational endeavors. This fact furnishes the foundation of this study.

The phrase "educational method" appearing in the title demands a word of explanation. Some with ordinary school processes most in mind may think first of varying methods for teaching spelling, reading, or subtraction and the like. This is a true use of method, but something more is needed for this discussion. Here we have in mind, on the one hand, all the ways in which we can and do influence the child and his entire conduct and, on the other hand, all the manifold learning effects that flow from this entire conduct. We may think of teaching arithmetic, but we are also and therein inevitably teaching the child to like or dislike arithmetic, to like or dislike school and the life of study, to respect himself as capable or the reverse. Still further by the ways in which we deal with the child we are teaching him also such things as what justice is, whether or not to expect it, in part also whether or not to give it. Educational method as here used relates then to all that we do and how we do it viewed in respect of all the manifold learning effects it helps to create in the children under our care.

It is of course obvious that many different method effects spring from the many varied aspects of the total situation. Each national life, for example, seems to have its own characteristic method effect on its young. The foreign

visitor to American schools is at once struck by differences which seem peculiar to this country. One visitor, trying to describe it, said that our young people lack " humility." As I thought over the matter, I had to admit that humility —if it were ever otherwise here—is now a dead virtue, so dead in fact that I am still surprised that the visitor expected to find it. So fully had the American situation got in its effect both on me and on the children.

So much for definition and introduction. Let us now ask more precisely about differences of social outlook. How do these, according to their differing intents, express themselves in correlatively differing school methods for teaching and managing the young? We shall probably be disappointed if we expect in this field highly conscious differences of intent or close consistency of practice. Rather is it trends, more or less unconscious, which we may expect to find.

Possibly the most outstanding instance of *outré* outlook and correlative method is found among those who have accepted, more or less directly from Freud, an extreme fear of suppression. In such extreme, this runs highly counter to traditional American attitudes. Instead of curbing and restraining and compelling a child to fit adult chosen molds and standards, the parent or teacher is told to remove all such restraints. Certain of our literary magazines have recently made definite complaints against this attitude and practice. A somewhat similar method of treatment may follow a belief that a self at birth includes within itself its definite future pattern, which through self-expression is to be given complete freedom to unfold itself. On either basis the child is to be given *carte blanche* to do as he pleases.

The idea of an all-sufficient self uniquely given from the start of life for later unfolding is rather too mystical a conception to attain in this country to the dignity of a social force. It runs too much against the grain of American common sense. Only a few cultists hold to it. But

suppression—in some sense—stands on a different basis. Fear of maladjustment spreads. The validity back of the fear of suppression has in social theory a very definite bearing on the nature of institutions. In this form, the position is by no means limited to extremists. Space here does not allow an adequate discussion, but a few words may help. On this theory there are certain definite organic urges which to be sure may be expressed in a variety of ways with varying directness of original tendency up to a high degree of sublimation, but which must somehow be satisfactorily expressed or maladjustment ensues. It becomes then necessary that customs, mores, and institutions take such form as will foster the most healthful expression. It is as yet too soon to say just what effect this general conception is to have in reshaping our institutions. It does, however, have real bearing on school method. We may readily dismiss the extravagant notion that any and all suppression is wrong or that children are to be turned loose. No such opinion or practice can live. But much study and thought and experimentation will be necessary before we can satisfactorliy appraise the precise weight to be given this factor. Meanwhile both as psychological doctrine and as consequent shaper of institutional life this position will continue to influence our management of people of whatever age—children, youth, or adults. Maladjustment is too real and too obvious an evil to be disregarded.

Any theory of institutions raises the whole question of final authority in such matters, and at once we enter the contending arena of religious, metaphysical, and social forces and theories. Traditionally, we have inherited a religious theory that Deity has fixed in detail and for all time the right and wrong of all social forms and practices. Various philosophies have translated the same essential doctrine into varying metaphysical terms, while Newtonian science with its fixed and final "laws" to govern us has often seemed to look in the same direction.

The educational method of the foregoing when consistent is fairly obvious. If institutions get their form with right to obedience from outside of man and apart from the results of experience, then education becomes—as many in fact conceive it—primarily the social process for habituating childhood and youth to the *status quo*. Our institutional life is thus conceived in essential features as fixed and final, and the problem of education is to get the social inheritance accepted. Method is thought of as the process of teaching what is thus already known. Upon trial, the child is often found to be recalcitrant. (In a former day this was taken for granted—was he not totally depraved?) Motivation becomes then a necessity. Study, learn, teach, and test all get their definitions on the theory of a fixed and foreknown content. Without being exactly conscious of it, this theory assumes a static world where present adult forms and standards will continue to be the proper forms and standards when the rising generation has itself become adult. If one wished to give this general position a bad name he might call it "sanctified conservation." The *status quo* is accepted as final or at least dominant. Education is putting it over. Method then consists of the most efficient available devices for making or inducing childhood to accept these adult standards and processes.

That the American graded school was in fact founded on this conservative conception of the *status quo* seems beyond question. For it, education has been primarily a preparation for a foreknown (because static) adult life. The curriculum, as the spread out content of what is thus to be learned, was to be got by studying present (fixed) adult life. Each year in school must show its quota learned or the child is not promoted. The test of learning is the ability to show on demand what the teacher had previously set out for learning. Learning adds to a child's possessions, but it creates nothing, nor does it change the child except to add to what he owns. While America has been in many respects the most progressive nation in the world,

the American school—in essential theory at least—has largely kept the original static outlook that it inherited from Europe.

To get the contrast and lesson, let us now look at a different theory of life and consequently of learning. Life if closely viewed confronts us ever with new experiences, new situations to be met and mastered. True enough there are in any situation, however new, many old and more or less familiar elements, but this situation we are now confronting I never met before. The novelty in the situation may be difficult to manage satisfactorily. I have then to contrive a new way of meeting it. My contriving utilizes the results of past experiences (past learnings in fact), but the contriving is itself new. Do I learn? I certainly do. Whether I succeed or fail, I learn; and if I am intelligent, I shall likely use this learning in connection with subsequent experience. This kind of learning is clearly more active in nature than that discussed above. Here the learner, in a sense, supplies what he is to learn, and he is creative in so doing. What may be called the "primary learning" here is his success in grappling with the situation, the complete eventual plan of attack that he makes for coping with the difficulties of the situation. "Attendant learnings" are all the accompanying concepts, attitudes, likes, dislikes, etc., which are built during the process. Moreover the learner is and of right ought to be responsible for all the consequences of what he does. This conception of responsible doing and learning is clearly the strict correlation of the life process itself, or perhaps better is the life process itself responsibly accepted. And life here is a dynamic, ongoing, shifting, changing sort of affair. In America of today so many changes take place that obviously each generation faces a new and different world. Education then must take on a complexion to fit such a changing sort of life and civilization. Repetition does not suffice.

It appears at once that the words study, learn, teach,

and the like here take on new meaning. Study is the active grappling with a novel situation; it notes the resources and obstacles of the situation and contrives as best it can a way of controlling the outcome. Learn is only another name for the active grappling of study but viewed as deposit, as resulting plan made and fixed in the learner along with all the other attendent learning effects. Teach means the effort to help, as one best can, the cumulative learning to take place. Such definitions as these stress the active creative work of the learner as a responsible individual. They contemplate a novelly developing stream of experience—such as does in fact characterize contemporary American life.

We are now ready to return to the drama of social forces. On the one hand are all the forces calling for a new education. The rushing ahead of material civilization such as never was seen before, the breakdown of many, many old mores as belonging to the pioneer or to the horse-and-buggy agrarian civilization and inadequate, therefore, to the current motor-car and machine-age civilization. All of those things demand a new type of education, better suited to a dynamic novelly developing situation. Educational method built for a static type of civilization could not be expected to satisfy. Learn must be thought of as active, creative grappling, not as mere repeating, still less as merely repeating an adult life bound to go out of date.

But this is not all. Amid all the burly change of the modern world there remain vested interests of various kinds which seek to shelter themselves against change adverse to their interests—vested interests of established doctrine and institution as truly as of social status or wealth. Some vested interests may be as unselfish as religious fundamentalism which especially seeks to keep change out of the source of authority in religion. Advocates of no divorce, of anti-birth control, of blue law Sundays, and the like, would belong with these. Other vested interests cluster about traditional conceptions of Americanism and national-

ism, including thus the Ku Klux, the American Legion, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the like. That all of these and their like follow the older conception of study and learn is most evident. These mean to tell the young what to think and to do this so early and consistently that when they are old they will not depart from it.

But there are still other social forces and vested interests. Other factors are at work. America looks up to the business man, so boards of education tend to fall under his sway. Efficiency is his ideal with the soft pedal on thinking especially about social reconstruction. Efficient and safe superintendents are thus demanded. From this, vocational preparation too often gets its cue. Emphasis is placed on budget making, cost accounting, school building, and the like. The educative process is conceived in safe and efficient terms: mass production, pupil accounting, tested results, statistical studies—all done under the halo of scientific accuracy. Partly because the new techniques of administration are intriguing, partly because the dynamic learning way is new and harder to manage, and possibly more costly, partly through wish to play safe before the business attitude—for these and other reasons—the serious study of what education could mean tends to be slighted or laughed out of court. The old way (they say) is the safe way, the new and dynamic way is neither safe nor efficient.

Thus do social forces affect educational method. There is real conflict but the outlook is not discouraging. Already within the study of education a better day dawns. What education means, how it is inherent in the life process alike of the individual and of the group, the possibilities of an intelligent democracy—the study of all these takes on new life. It is study and more study—this is what we need.

RESEARCH STUDIES OF EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE IN REFLECTING SOCIAL CHANGES

F. STUART CHAPIN

Studies of student extracurricular activities at the college and university level often show results significant of social changes. It is the purpose of this article to analyze some of the more recent statistical studies of extracurricular activities.

There is real scientific significance in studies of this sort. In the first place they afford an opportunity to investigate some of the central problems of sociology: social interaction and leadership. In the second place they provide the opportunity to study these problems in objective terms; that is, by studying participation. In the third place extracurricular activities permit the study of social interaction and leadership under conditions of control seldom present in the natural community, for certain factors in the situation are constant or relatively constant: age, sex, intelligence, socio-economic status and cultural background. As compared with the natural community composed of persons of all ages, all ranges of intelligence, and different levels of status, the student group is highly homogeneous with respect to these attributes. Furthermore, there is comparatively little interference from the outside.

Social changes of a subtle sort have occurred during the past three decades. The group life of the natural community has been transformed by new inventions in communication and transportation. Contacts are more frequent; also more superficial. Life is more stimulating; also more tense. There is more strain in social relations. The increase of inventions, frequency of contact, superficiality, strain, and tension, all these are both a cause and an effect of the creation of new groupings of human beings.

The outstanding fact is the increase in number of derivative groups and in social controls that emanate from these remote groups. Local face-to-face groups are supplanted by, become linked up with, and are dominated through national overhead organizations. This is not only the era of trusts, business consolidations, and chain stores, it is also the age of hierarchies of social groups with centralized guidance and remote controls. These are what I mean by the subtle sort of social changes. I have treated the subject elsewhere with respect to what has happened to enlarge the social horizon of the child during the past decade.[1]

Now these social changes are reflected in extracurricular activities. Thornhill and Landis[2] have shown that the average amount of extracurricular activities of the classes of 1900 and 1910 in Wesleyan University shows a marked increase. The average number of points for 1900 seniors was 24.6 as compared with 42.7 for 1910 seniors. Of 533 campus organizations in existence at the University of Minnesota[3] from 1887 to the year 1924-1925, there were 300 in existence in 1925. More survived than had died. Furthermore, an examination of the sorts of organizations that ceased to function as compared with the kind that were active in 1925 shows a high mortality among music, literary societies, publications, oratory, debate, and dramatics and a low mortality among sororities, fraternities, honor societies, religious organizations, and student government. It is evident that the sort of organization which survived is the sort of organization for which there were national ties, strong traditions, and in some cases centralized control. In other words, it seems that the remote social controls of derivative groups, such as national organizations, supply a source of strength in our modern

[1] "The Child's Enlarging Social Horizon," *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CLI (September, 1930), 11-19.

[2] "Extra-curricular Activity and Success," *School and Society*, XXVIII (July 28, 1928), 117-120.

[3] F. S. Chapin and O. M. Mehus, *Extra-Curricular Activities at the University of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929), p. 10.

complex social order that extends even to extracurricular activities.

The extent to which participation in extracurricular activities takes place has been shown recently by two extensive surveys. During 1924-1925[4] a study was made of 4,637 University of Minnesota students, and during 1928-1929 of 2,924 students in the junior colleges of California.[5] The percentages of these totals who participated in varying numbers of extracurricular activities are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Participation of Large Numbers

Number of activities participated in	*Per cent* 4,637 *U. of M.* 1924-25	*Per cent* 2,924 *Junior College California* 1928-29
0	33.5	26.4
1	27.6	23.7
2	19.5	21.8
3	9.6	14.0
4	5.1	8.0
5	2.1	3.9
6	1.3	1.8
7 and over	1.3	0.4

This table indicates that except for the fact that elimination is more rapid at Minnesota, the two large masses of students show diminishing participation as the number of groups increases. In other words, we may say that there seems to be a principle of diminishing participation. These statistical results confirm common-sense observations about spreading one's energies thin over many activities. The results also show a surprising amount of group activity in college life which parallels the social changes outside: changes in the direction of more numerous groupings.

So much for the masses, let us now consider the leaders. It is, of course, evident that the students who engage in 6 or more activities and constitute the rare 3 per cent at the

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

[5] W. C. Ells and R. R. Brand, "Extra-Curricular Activities in Junior Colleges in California," *The School Review*, XXXVIII (April, 1930), 276-279.

head of the system are leaders. A more intensive analysis of the student leaders at Minnesota[6] compared with the masses is shown in Table II.

TABLE II
Participation of Leaders

Number of activities	4,637 *students*	1,170 *officers (titular leaders)*	379 *prominent students*	110 *honor students*
0	33.5	—	—	7.1
1	27.6	3.2	17.4	10.7
2	19.5	6.5	20.3	11.5
3	9.6	8.9	20.5*	15.1
4	5.1	12.3	14.7	10.7
5	2.1	13.5	10.3	15.1*
6	1.3	14.2*	7.3	11.5
7	1.3	12.8	2.9	7.1
8	—	10.2	1.8	6.2
9	—	7.2	0.8	1.8
10	—	4.1	0.8	0.9
11	—	2.6	—	—
12	—	1.7	—	—
13	—	1.4	—	—
14	—	0.4	—	—
15	—	0.1	—	—
16	—	0.09	—	—
17	—	0.09	—	—

* Mode.

Here we find a different tendency. Student leaders, whether titular leaders, or those listed as prominent by the student members of student organizations,[7] or members of Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, or other honorary organizations, all show an increasing participation until the saturation point* of energy expenditure is reached and then numbers begin to fall away, as in the participation of the masses. The striking difference is, however, that whereas the masses show a decline of participation from the very beginning, the leaders build up their patterns of participatory activities until 3, 5, or 6 activities, at which level they seem to reach the limit for the majority, and

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 39, 49, 59-60.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

then only the rare leader holds on to 10, 12, or 15 activities.

What is the meaning of this tendency in participation by leaders? In 1924 I advanced the working hypothesis[8] that "leaders are persons of greater activity than the average so that their range of elasticity for participation in group activities is greater than the average man's." These data seem to confirm this hypothesis but the question may still be asked, *why* do leaders show greater activity? The answer has often been made in terms of studies of individual differences in vitality, bodily strength, personality, and so forth. I propose a new answer in terms of a working hypothesis for further testing.

Leaders can participate in a larger number of group activities than the average group member because leaders are persons with more than average powers of symbolic representation. We may change the wording and say that leaders have greater power of abstract thought. They are persons who can visualize clearly, accurately, and quickly, the complicated network of group relations in which the modern person must find his way about (see figure 1). The leader can substitute word symbols, like "executive committee of the national council of delegates," for absent groups, past groups, and even future groups, so effectively that he can guide these groups and control their members without face-to-face or intimate contact with them. The leader thus substitutes symbols for overt activity.

Is there any evidence to support this hypothesis of the greater power of symbolic representation of leaders? Perhaps the best available measure of symbolic power and mastery is academic rating in college subjects based on book learning (written language symbols). At least it will be admitted that academic subjects emphasize abstract thought and the processes of symbolic substitution. What is the evidence, then, that students who participate in more

[8] "Leadership and Group Activity," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII (January-February, 1924), 145.

activities than the average also have higher ratings in academic subjects?

Sward[9] has recently summarized the literature and finds some evidence in support of this point. In an earlier study the present author[10] found a correlation of r=+ .402 between the number of groups participated in and the academic grades of 250 Smith College seniors. Crawford[11] found higher correlations between grades and college abil-

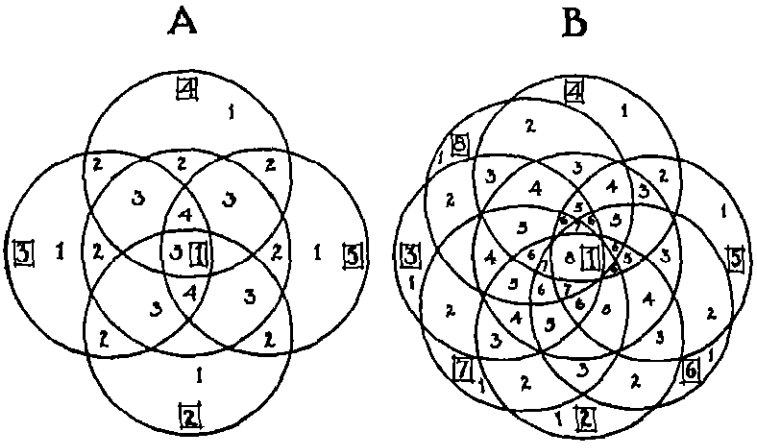


FIGURE 1

Graphic symbols of circles to illustrate the network of group relations. A represents the situation of a person who participates in 5 groups. The small numbers show the number of groups overlapping for an indicated area. B shows the situation of a person who participates in 8 groups. The figure illustrates the two principles induced from the data of Tables I and II. Principle (1) of diminishing participation is illustrated by the larger areas at the margins of the intersecting group system. Principle (2) the complicated network of group relations which the leader visualizes (whether A or B) by means of word symbols. *See* also, F. S. Chapin, "Measuring the Volume of Social Stimuli: A Study in Social Pyschology," *Social Forces*, vol. 4, no. 3, March, 1926, pp. 479-495.

[9] Keith Sward, *An Experimental Study of Leadership*, 1929 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota).

[10] "Student Extra-Curricular Activities. A Study in College Leadership," *School and Society*, XXII (February 13, 1926), 212-216.

[11] A. B. Crawford, "Extra-Curricular Activities and Academic Work," *The Personnel Journal*, VII, 121-129, 1928.

ity among 1,244 active Yale students than among 1,399 inactive students. McCreery[12] found slight connection. Knox and Davis found that the average marks in scholarship of 854 participants in general activities other than purely social undertakings at the University of Colorado[13] were higher than those of 4,523 nonparticipants and higher than the average of 5,377 in the entire student body. The average grades of those in 1 activity were close to the average of the active group, the average grades of those in 2 activities were higher than the average of the active group, and of those in 3 activities slightly lower. Sward[14] found the average rating in college ability tests of 125 leaders was 71.8, and of 125 inactive students as controls was 59.2. He found a marked interest was shown by the leader group in verbal and linguistic activities. Perhaps his most significant finding for purposes of our present study was in the expressed occupational preferences of the men of the leader group and the men of the control group.

TABLE III

Occupational Preferences

Men Leaders		*Men Nonleaders*
Dramatic critic	1	Grade-school teacher
Editor	2	Street-car conductor
Novelist	3	Librarian
Magazine writer	4	High-school teacher
Member of Congress	5	Carpenter
Greek scholar	6	Office clerk
Foreign correspondent	7	Pharmacist
Actor	8	Retail salesman

It is evident from this table that the occupational preferences of men leaders run strongly to occupations which require imagination or the use of symbols of representation, while the occupational preferences of the nonleaders stress perceptual and sensory experiences. In so far as

[12] O. C. McCreery, *The Relationship of Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities to Studies in College*, 1927 (unpublished thesis, University of Minnesota).

[13] "Scholarship of University Students Participating in Extra-Curricular Activities," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XV (October, 1929), 481-493; *see* also for general summary, P. W. Terry, "Summary of Investigations of Extra-Curriculum Activities in 1929," *The School Review*, XXVIII (November, 1930), 663-672.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51, 62, 76.

this study may be taken as representative it supplies evidence to support our hypothesis that the leaders of complex group activities are individuals with greater than average powers of abstract thought and symbolic representation. Sward concludes a section of his investigation with these words, "In intellectual traits, as indicated by college ability scores and scholastic achievement, campus leaders at the University of Minnesota excel in unselected college subjects by an appreciable margin."

To summarize the thesis of this article: During the past three decades there have occurred social changes of a subtle sort which have paralleled the more obvious changes in the economic and industrial order. These subtle changes are an increase in the number and complexity of remote or derivative groups. Student extracurricular activities at the college and university level reflect these changes. For this reason and also because the college campus offers opportunities of study under conditions of control not present in the natural community, the study of extracurricular activities is of scientific importance. Statistical studies in this field of social interaction and leadership show that the masses of students exhibit diminishing participation as the number of groups increases; that leaders show increasing participation as the number of groups increases until the saturation point of energy expenditure is reached, and then show diminishing participation. The reason for this tendency is suggested in the working hypothesis that leaders have greater powers of symbolic thought than the masses and hence are able to visualize by means of symbols the complex interrelations of many groups. Evidence in support of this hypothesis is present in the fact that student leaders who participate in many activities rank above the average in scholarship or implicit behavior that depends on power of symbolic thought. Student leaders also express preferences for occupations in which verbal and linguistic (symbolic behavior) activities are fundamental.

GERMAN PUBLICATIONS IN 1929 AND 1930 ON PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

L. H. Ad. Geck

Hardly a year in Germany's past history can show such a large number of publications in the field of social education as the year 1929. In 1930, also, the interest in the problems of social education did not decrease, although the number of publications became less.

The publications clearly illustrate the many-colored picture of the present situation and problems under discussion in German pedagogy. A large circle of writers on social education are still on the paths of traditional speculative pedagogy. But two small movements that are showing new trends have been attracting much attention. To these belong, in the first place, those educators who are attempting to formulate an educational sociology, and, in the second, those who are interested in establishing a system of economic or industrial education.

Although the term *pädogogische Soziologie* has been familiar for several decades in Germany, the first book with that title appeared in 1929. Its author is Karl Weiss. Rudolf Lochner, in 1927, was the first writer to treat education exhaustively from a sociological standpoint. Weiss construes educational sociology as that branch of sociology which takes into consideration social being and social phenomena important for education. He places the formative realities of social life over against educational ideology. After describing the foundation of educational sociology, the author deals in the first part with general, in the second with special educational sociology. The former has to do with the relation of society to education, the latter with the social life of children and adolescents. The work of this well-read author must be regarded as one of the

pioneer attempts, which on the one hand rests on the results of previous studies, but, on the other, also upon the author's personal observations derived from his experience as an elementary-school teacher. This work deserves recognition, not only on account of its courage in attempting a review of educational sociology, but also on account of many original and useful observations and suggestions. Unfortunately, the author made use of foreign sociological and educational literature just as little as of German socio-psychological works. He was also not completely successful in his attempt to grasp comprehensively educational sociology. Frequently he presents sociology with educational emphasis, while his stated aim is to formulate a new evaluation of educational conditions in the light of sociology. Further, he is hardly justified in viewing the social life of childhood and adolescence as "special educational sociology," since the sociology of childhood and youth is not educational sociology but only a branch thereof. Nevertheless, Weiss's book is of special significance for teachers.

With express sociological purpose there is also a brochure, "Die Schulklasse als Gesellschaftsgruppe," by Rudolf Lochner. Lochner offers a detailed plan for considering the school class sociologically. Although his plan is in many ways defective or inadequate, it deserves recognition.

Third, we may note the work of Karl Reininger. He reports a study, made in Vienna, of the social behavior of beginners in school towards their schoolmates. The study is based upon thirty systematic reports or surveys. Beginning with a discussion of the social behavior during the first days in school he continues with the growth and modification of social relationships during the latter part of the first year in school. A palpable weakness of the study lies in its inadequate conception of sociological and socio-psychological principles, notably that of contact. This fault, however, does not minimize the general importance of the

study as an original attempt to make reliable first-hand observations.

Another very noteworthy study in educational sociology is made by Elisabeth Schröder who deals with the outsider. Her aim is to discover the conditions of the outsider and on the basis of these to determine a positive and corrective program of social education in the school. According to theoretical distinctions she names three major forms in which the social relationships of social backgrounds find expression. She calls these *gegeneinandergehen, auseinandergehen, nebeneinandergehen.* She discusses the causes and consequences of outside influences in connection with the tendencies of children towards or away from this type of social behavior. The conclusion presents a summary of her results. While only fifty-three cases of outside influence (twenty-three boys and thirty girls) were studied, the thoroughgoing method of the study is notable. Perhaps it lacks psychological and socio-psychological depth, yet it reveals sociological insight on the strength of which it may be considered a valuable contribution to educational sociology.

The final study to be considered in this connection takes an unusually broad view of educational sociology. Rudolf Lochner, in his work entitled *Die Entfaltung der Gemeinschaft,* defined as *wertvolles Gruppenleben,* offers a program of adult education on the basis of sociology. He deals with the psychological and social postulates of adult education, and then considers the different problems of youth and adulthood, husband and wife, classes, vocations and professions, territorial groups, the church, society and the state. The significance of these for the development of human personality he discusses in the conclusion of his book. The work as a whole is meritorious. The author has done a difficult piece of work, but not without skill: He is well read and a trained observer. To many details of his work reasonable exceptions may be taken. For example, the subject of workers' education is treated inade-

quately. Further, he has not treated his data exhaustively. Again, his sociological views and scientific outlook are sometimes limited. Nevertheless, the author has attempted an unusual piece of work which is rich in promise.

We may distinguish five other works of importance among sociologically minded educators. Kurt Iven presents a very noteworthy historical study of the industrial life of the eighteenth century and of mercantile thinking which have influenced educational thought productively. Iven's work meets an important but little recognized need and is distinguished for its erudition and style. August Gans treats the same subject as Iven, but in a different manner, under the title, *Das okonomische Motiv in der preussischen Pädagogik des* 18. *Jahrhunderts.* In his introduction Gans throws light on mercantile and school conditions as they were at the end of the seventeenth century, and then he reviews the economic ideas, forces, and schools, as well as the social policies of the ruling Prussian monarchs, in the eighteenth century. He shows the multiplicity of school establishments which owed their founding to economic reasons, and often surprises us with the discovery of educational views that are quite modern in spirit. His contribution is not only significant from an historical standpoint, but offers a new point of view for education. A unique book is *Volkserziehung und Industrie,* a collection of lectures delivered in 1929 at a conference on *Industriepädagogik.* In this book solutions are suggested for educational problems brought about by modern industrial conditions. Among the subjects discussed were "Christus und das moderne Arbeitsleben," "Der Akademiker vor den Aufgaben der Industriepädagogik," "Wie schaffen wir gemeinsame Beziehungen und rechtes Mitverantwortungsgefühl im modernen Wirtschaftsleben," "Die Eigenart der Industriejugend," and so on. The book has the disadvantage of scattering, instead of offering a centralized program. Apart from this, however, it is a significant pioneer attempt to deal with the problem of industrial

education. A notable study of young girls employed in factories was made by Hildegard Jüngst. She studies the life of young girl workers in factories in order to discover conditions on the basis of which an educational program might be formulated for these people. The study is based upon observations made during her experience as a factory worker for two months, upon questionnaires, and upon the results of previous investigations of similar nature. She attacked her problem systematically and critically. The psychology of the adolescent factory girl is discussed with its educational implications. The work of Hildegard Jüngst is of vast importance as a contribution to social science, to education, and to industrial education. Finally, there is a small work by Paul Ziertmann. Ziertmann is interested in the relations between industry and the school, as well as the industrial aspect of school and education. He draws the very significant conclusion that the capital invested in formal education would give better returns if an economic education as well as specialized technical training were generally respected as highly as other conventional forms of education.

The bulk of studies in educational sociology is based upon traditional and speculative principles. Some of these studies are highly suggestive. Among these is the excellent study of an earlier and outstanding German educational sociologist, Otto Willmann, by Franz Kurfess. Although this work is chiefly historical in character, it does not ignore the vital problem of socializing education today. Herein lies the significance of the study. An exhaustive study of Willmann's theories and principles as well as a critical analysis of earlier studies on Willmann comprises the basis of this book. Wilhelm Steinberg also has made a very important study. His position is that an adequate social conception of classical education is conditioned by a knowledge of modern sociology and social psychology. He tries to illustrate his position by an evaluation of the work of representative and largely individualistic educational

theorists on the basis of their implicit or explicit recognition of educational sociology: Helvetius, as the individualistic founder of educational collectivism; Locke, whose chief task was moral education; Rousseau, whose educational theories are at bottom extremely individualistic; Pestalozzi, who clearly saw the complex of individual and social factors of the educational process; Fichte, who deals with the chief problems of social education in its broader significance, which ranks him with major educational sociologists; Herbart, the founder of educational sociology in Germany, but who failed to recognize the importance of social forces in formulating his educational aim; and Schleiermacher, who held the view that the aim of education is neither exclusively individual nor exclusively social. Even if Steinberg does not offer a comprehensive treatment of the subject, his stimulating work reveals admirable appreciation of social psychology.

The traditional view of social education is represented by two volumes entitled, *Handbuch der Pädogogik.* This work is published by the well-known educationists, Hermann Nohl and Ludwig Pallat. It is a compendium intended chiefly for teachers in training and in service. It attempts to offer a complete statement of educational and educationally important facts, according to the presents status of knowledge, and to show the developments since 1900. The second volume deals with the biological, psychological, and sociological foundations of education. Ernst Krieck contributes an article on "Die soziale Funktion der Erziehung" in general, in the family and in the state, in religious organizations, and in professional associations; Karl Mennicke contributes an article on "Die sozialen Lebensformen als Erziehungsgemein schaften" as they are represented by the family, the professions, workshop, state, and the like; Curt Bondy writes on adolescent groups or clubs; and Adolf Busemann writes on "Die Bedeutung des Milieus für den Zögling." Those familiar with sociological methods, the results of sociological studies, and educa-

tional sociology will hardly be satisfied with the obvious lack of a thoroughgoing sociological training on the part of the authors. To be sure, there are attempts in this work to analyze critically the educational implications of social phenomena, but, in the main, the method of treatment is obsolescent. It is remarkable that little use is made of foreign, especially American, literature, just as, on the other hand, little use is made by Americans of important German literature. Outstanding is the contribution of Busemann. But the other minor studies are quite worth reading for their own sake. Volume five of the compendium is called "Sozialpädagogik." This volume is based on a very definitely formulated conception of educational sociology. Social education here means the sum total of all societal and state opportunities which lie outside the school. In defining this conception of social education one might have expected the separate treatment of several topics for which one looks in vain, as, for example, the education of the worker. In the first division of the work Gertrud Bäumer discusses the nature, organization, and provisions for public education, which are legally provided for adolescent welfare in Germany. Marie Offenberg writes on the significance of social education for the family and family welfare. Three further main divisions are devoted to school welfare work, especially school hygiene and care for sick children. The care of the young and the various aspects of the youth movement, as well as ortho-education (defectives, psychopaths, juvenile delinquents, and criminals) are taken up. In conclusion Gertrud Bäumer writes on the social educator and his training. In comparatively small space she has collected a great amount of useful material. Since symposia can hardly be expected to be uniformly excellent in the articles which comprise them, defects of this kind may readily be excused in this compendium. Less sociological and psychological but speculative in character is a very interesting work by Aloys Henn, *Vom Wesen und Wert der Jugendfreund-*

schaft. The title suggests that this study has to do with the nature and types of adolescent friendships, but actually the study goes far beyond this subject and discusses in detail group education in childhood and youth. The work is not the last work in this field but deserves reading.

The problem of sex education has attracted much attention in Germany in the last few years. Although much has been written on this subject, scientific treatment of the problem is still inadequate. We shall call attention here to two works dealing with this problem. These works represent totally different standpoints. Magnus Hirschfeld, a well-known German student of sex problems, in an article written in collaboration with Ewald Bohm entitled "Der Weg durch Natürlichkeit zur neuen Moral" deals with problems of sex education in its various aspects, aims, methods, and conditions. He discusses the sex education of the child through postpubertal youth. Hirschfeld points out the great importance of the sex problem in relation to social education. But a tentative attitude is to be taken towards his work, since he overlooks the fact that it is precisely in the field of sex education in which a fine balance of individual and social forces must be achieved. The writers are too much inclined to make the sex problem central, which position commits them to a type of naturalism that is interesting, but limited. Sex is not the sole factor in life to be studied at the expense of other factors, no matter how important it may appear to be. The book may be considered, nevertheless, a serious essay towards a solution of the problem of sex education. Last but decidedly not least, is the book by Joseph Schröteler. The latter was authorized by the Deutsches Institut für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik to collect and publish lectures on sex education. He published these under the title *Beiträge zur Grundlegung einer gesunden Sexualpädagogik.* The argument of the book has to do with the vast scope of the sex problem of youth. No absolute rule of thumb is adequate for successful sex education but an

approach is made by Schröteler to a tentative and possible program of sex education for youth. The philosopher, Siegfried Behn, writes on the various types of sex reform; Linus Bopp, student of youth; Albert Schmitt, student of moral theology; Minna Schumacher-Kohl, as representative for womanhood; and Ludwig Klostermann, as judge of a juvenile court, make their respective contributions. All these writers offer solutions of the problems of sex education on the basis of their own observations. The book has much to say about sex hygiene, and is, without question, one of the best of its kind. It deserves international reading.

One study that borders on social education and has to do with the problem of milieu and social education is submitted by Walter Popp. This study is the continuation of an investigation which Popp began in 1927 on the educational milieu. In his new study he rightly points out that unrestricted self-determination does not exist in individuals, and on the basis of this supposition writes on autogenic and exogenic factors in human development, in order to set up a background for three major questions: (1) What is the relation of milieu to native tendency? (2) What is the relation of self-determination to native tendency? (3) On the basis of native tendency, what is the interplay of milieu and self-determination? The study is illuminating and clearly written. It would have been more important had the author taken up a discussion of other views more fully. For example, the problem of personality study and the results of sociological investigations are largely shirked.

DANGER POINTS IN CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC WORK

HARRY M. TIEBOUT

In operation since 1922, the activities of child guidance clinics have aroused widespread interest. Despite errors both of commission and omission, their work has resulted in the acceptance of the clinic concept to such a substantial degree that similar groups are springing up over the country. With this fact in mind, a brief review of the origin of the clinics, their organization, theoretical assumptions and principles underlying their operation may be in order as a means of orientation for those whose interest has recently been stimulated and, of even greater importance, as a means of pointing out the nature of the problems and responsibilities to be met in the clinic set-up. Insufficient consideration of these problems and responsibilities accounts for the difficulties encountered by some clinics, prematurely launched on programs, and results in a material diminution in the extent and effectiveness of their contribution. Merely to establish a clinic does not ensure service commensurate with the cost. There must be careful community organization, adequately trained personnel, and effective gearing into the community.

The child guidance clinic concept as originally evolved was the outgrowth of the experiences of psychiatrists with delinquents, psychotics, and neurotics. As is now well known, these experiences led to the recognition of the primary effect of childhood conditionings upon the behavior manifested by adults. In any effort to prevent adult maladjustments, it was evident that treatment must be directed to the childhood period, where lie the roots of these maladjustments. As the truth of this became more apparent, psychiatrists found themselves entering a new field, a field for which their training but partially fitted

them. Moreover, other workers with different professional backgrounds were already active in the same field and were possessed of technical skills which afforded a valuable supplement to those of the psychiatrist. As a consequence, a uniting of forces was logical. In 1912 under the leadership of Dr. E. E. Southard, the first joining of technical fields was inaugurated when a social worker and a psychologist were appointed to the staff of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. A year later, Dr. Adolf Meyer included social workers and psychologists in his organization. The union of the different professional groups reached its highest flowering in the child guidance clinic where the major emphasis from the outset was the combined approach to the study of the child.

The work of three professional groups other than the psychiatrists—social workers, psychologists, and pediatricians—appeared at once as particularly useful and vital in a combined approach to the study and treatment of children's problems. Each group studying the situation from its own particular angle of approach aids in understanding the child. The social worker with her greater awareness of social situations and resources and her greater skill in gathering information concerning them throws light upon the environmental factors. The psychologist with his training in mental testing and educational processes determines intellectual capacities, educational achievement, and the presence of any special abilities or disabilities. The pediatrician with his special knowledge of physical medicine interprets any physical or constitutional factors at work. The psychiatrist ascertains the existence of potentially undesirable mental trends and the nature of the emotional attitudes of the child towards home, playmates, school, and self. The findings of these specialists are correlated at conferences where, with the combined knowledge from this rounded study of the total child and his total situation, the causes of difficulties and plans for subsequent treatment are formulated. This joint relationship

of professional people working coöperatively—the clinical team—has remained the basic method of approach in all child guidance clinic work.

The validity of child guidance clinic endeavor rests upon three theoretical assumptions. These are: first, that childhood is the most favorable time for the prevention of adult maladjustment; second, that just as the adult misfit is the product of past interactions between self and environment, so the child needing guidance is the product of past interactions; and third, that the treatment of the maladjustment must be directed at causes and not at symptoms.

One might discuss at length the flaws in assumptions stated so briefly and dogmatically. Such discussion, however, would in no way detract from the essential truths of these statements which represent the matured convictions of competent and scientifically trained men. There is here as elsewhere, however, a wide gap between theory and practice. Space does not permit a full consideration of the many and serious difficulties arising from the efforts to bridge this gap, but there are two practical difficulties which may become real danger points to the success of the clinic program. In view of the present rapid increase in the number of clinic set-ups, these danger points require particular emphasis. They are: first, problems of professional groups working together and second, the responsibilities for treatment.

In a previous paragraph the statement was made that psychiatrists found themselves entering a new field in which they lacked certain necessary technical skills. These skills at the time were recognized as being largely concerned with specialized techniques whereby examinations and investigations of one sort or another could be made for the purpose of throwing more light on the causes for the child's behavior. It is a natural human trait for each examiner to hold that his contribution to the understanding of the child's problems is particularly vital. The problem of professional rivalries and jealousies is apt to crop

up. Honest differences of opinion arise from the differing technical backgrounds and perspectives and may contribute to friction if not wisely met. Professional rivalries present an administrative and personal problem and need no further discussion. The problem of the divergences in viewpoint of the various professional groups is largely a matter of previous training and becomes less marked as the viewpoint of each individual in the group expands. This point needs further development in order to make its meaning and significance clear. Let us take the case of the psychiatrist as an example. He talks to a child and gets the impression that he is reacting to feelings of inferiority because of certain things. He comes to a conference and hears the social worker call the same child under-privileged and neglected. The psychologist reports the child feeble-minded, and the pediatrician diagnoses the child as undernourished. Gradually the conviction dawns upon the psychiatrist, as it does upon the others, that the child is not any one of these four things, but actually *all* four wrapped up in the same small package. In other words, the child begins to stand out as a whole. But with this realization of the child as a whole, the contribution of any examiner shrinks in significance and takes its place with the contributions from the other specialists as an integrated part of a whole. Professional barriers then seem much less important.

Once professional barriers have been broken down and one has come to the full recognition of the concept of the child as a whole with a social, physical, mental, and emotional background, one is faced with still another problem in group relationships. It is one thing to recognize that the child exists as an entity; it is an entirely different matter to comprehend fully the constituent parts which go to make up that entity. Unless comprehension concerning the nature of the contributions of the other professional groups develops sufficiently, however, one cannot profitably and meaningfully correlate one's own findings with theirs and

thus be able to see the child as the living, functioning organism he actually is. For instance, if the psychiatrist accepts the I.Q. with little real confidence in the reliability of its classification, he is apt to insist that the talkative, verbalistic child is brighter than the test indicates. Should the psychiatrist proceed on that assumption he will force the child into a situation to the child's serious disadvantage. Similarly, the social worker may find it difficult to accept a psychiatric interpretation of the effervescent bonhomie of the adolescent as compensation for inferiority. If she does not accept the interpretation and work with it effectively, the value of the group approach is lost. Working insight into the knowledge and effectiveness of another technical group becomes, therefore, essential.

In other words, setting together four people with differing technical backgrounds in and of itself does not ensure a productive approach to children's problems. Workable relationships with integration of the four points of view have to be developed before a clinic can function smoothly and efficiently. One point of view is absolutely essential—that whatever is done must be directed at the problems of the whole child.

The members of the clinic group may work satisfactorily together in the development of a complete well-rounded picture of the reasons for the actions of a child, but in itself, this does not include a knowledge of what to do with the picture they see; in other words, how to treat the child, or what to do about the causes of the child's behavior once they have been isolated.

Nevertheless, no clinic worthy of the name can dodge its responsibilities for treating the children who pass through its doors. At the beginning of the clinic activities in 1922, knowledge of treatment processes necessary for work with children was relatively scant and inadequate. Since that time, knowledge has increased many fold due to the absorption of treatment techniques of the four fields, more especially that of social work, and due also to the

knowledge which came as a result of experience. This does not mean that the methods of treatment of today have been standardized into anything like a permanent system or even that any definite effort along that line has been attempted. Nevertheless, there is a body of information, too much scattered, some of it unorganized, not always easily procured, all of it in a state of constant flux, and as yet not sufficiently tested to meet scientific requirements, but growing slowly in extent and precision. This should form an important part of the armamentarium of any one who would venture forth upon the perilous and difficult task of trying to make over people constructively. For a physician to know that a patient's signs and symptoms are due to malaria does little for the patient unless the physician also knows that to apply quinine exerts a marked and specific therapeutic effect upon the illness. Similarly for a group to know all about the causes for a child's behavior does little for the improvement of that behavior unless the group knows how to apply the correct treatment for those causes. It is perfectly true that the analogy between medical treatment for physical illness and treatment for misbehavior breaks down if one looks for anything as specific in the latter as quinine in the cure of malaria. But, as has been pointed out, techniques have been and are being developed. Their application ensures a greater degree of success than guesswork. Admittedly most of these techniques are based empirically, but just as in medicine some drugs were found to be clinically effective and only later were scientifically analyzed, so in work with children, certain empirical treatment formulations seem to have validity although their scientific foundations are as yet only partially or not at all determined.

As an example of progress in treatment the so-called habit cases may be cited. Such undesirable habits as enuresis, masturbation, temper tantrums, food fads, and the like are known to respond to certain well-tested methods of handling. Formerly when these methods were

applied and the child failed to respond, one and then another equally meritorious method of handling the child was suggested in the hope that finally the right method would be hit upon, the test of the validity of the method unfortunately always being whether or not it worked regardless of the conditions under which it was applied. Now the approach to the treatment of these problems is quite different. A few mothers who have failed through sheer ignorance to inculcate desirable patterns of behavior in their children may profit from learning certain correct ways of dealing with their children. More often the difficulty is seen at once to be not so much the mother's ignorance of training methods as it is her inability to apply these methods properly. That is, the method itself is not at fault but the way in which she applies it. In dealing with such a mother, it is now recognized that the therapist must discover the reasons for the faulty application. A common but always striking illustration follows: A mother, because she has suffered in childhood from pulmonary tuberculosis, finds it difficult to follow out the prescribed method for conquering a feeding problem in her child, namely, to ignore the child's refusal to eat. Despite her knowledge that urging hinders more than it helps, her anxieties continue to break through, because to her an underweight child is one who is susceptible to tuberculosis. Until such a mother can be brought to appreciate how her own fears operate to interfere with her handling of the child and these fears are dissipated, no amount of telling her what to do will be sufficient. In other words, it is now known that the treatment of habit problems involves more than telling a mother what to do; it requires a recognition of the need to help her overcome inner conflicts. Such a task actually becomes the crux of the treatment approach. The recognition of this need constitutes a real step in advance in treatment technique.

Similarly with other types of problems, advances have been and are being made. Part of this advance lies in the

fact that four people are available to treat the situation. The social worker may try to change the parental attitudes at the same time that the patient is tutored by the psychologist, built up physically by the pediatrician, and helped concerning his attitudes towards his parents by the psychiatrist. Such endeavor taxes the capacity of the clinical team to the utmost and only becomes fruitful after a considerable period of pulling together. Lacking this coöperation the members work at cross purposes and undermine each other's efforts.

Further examples of advances in present treatment procedures over past ones would merely add increasing emphasis to the point that the clinics have a real responsibility for treatment and the staff members have an equally real obligation to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in all the fields represented. Otherwise the name clinic is a misnomer.

In establishing a clinic, therefore, not only must there be developed harmonious and useful working relationships among the members of the group, but also there must be available a knowledge of the most reliable information on what to do with the causes after they have been determined. Effective coöperation and treatment skills come slowly. The child guidance clinic field has progressed far enough to have developed its own resources in the way of training people for service in its particular line.[1] The number of people it can train adequately is pitifully small in proportion to the present demand. The natural tendency is to go to other types of training for personnel. Since the pressure is very great, little criticism of this tendency can be offered, provided adequate recognition is given to the fact that the mere establishment of a clinic does not guarantee adequate service. In fact, there is a very real danger that with untrained people, the treatment

[1]The Institute for Child Guidance was organized in 1927 for the purpose, among others, of training psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers for work in child guidance clinics. By means of fellowships, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene each year places psychiatrists in various child guidance clinics throughout the country for a period of training.

may descend unwittingly to the level of pernicious meddling which is already sufficiently widespread and has produced entirely justifiable adverse criticism. It is to be hoped that as time goes on, there will be available more and more adequately trained people and that the information at their disposal will be more and more scientifically grounded. In the meantime it is essential to recognize some of the difficulties in the work and to proceed with due caution. Otherwise a movement which holds much promise will find its influence dissipated and its capacity for service nullified by popular disapproval.

CAUSES OF SMALL FAMILIES

WILLIAM C. RUEDIGER

Writers on eugenics frequently give the impression that small families among clerical and professional workers are caused preponderantly by willful limitation for personal or selfish reasons. To test this assumption I asked my classes in education, where the educational aspects of eugenics form a part of the course, to coöperate with me in gathering data. They were led to realize that most problems in social research require coöperation; that one person does not know a large enough number of small families to make the reasons for the limitation of children statistically significant; and that a large number of persons might pool their knowledge with significant results. They were asked to submit lists of families with less than three children—0, 1, or 2 children. They were to take only families for which they knew why the number of children had been limited, and if they did not know of such families they were to submit no data. They were to ask no questions of any one and they were to submit no names or other symbols by which the families could be identified. I feel confident that the data submitted are highly reliable, quite as reliable as if they had been submitted by the families themselves.

Three classes participated in the investigation, numbering in all 115 students. Twenty of these were graduate students and 95 were juniors and seniors. Fifty per cent were teachers in service or persons of greater maturity than the normal upperclassman. Twelve per cent were married. Fifty-three, or 46 per cent, submitted lists. These varied from 1 to 35 families per list, with a grand total of 385 families. The average number per list was 7.26 and the median 6. The overlapping of the lists was not ascertained although it was discussed. The amount, if any,

was small and probably of no consequence. Each list still represents a circle of families known to a person of culture and refinement.

TABLE I

Reason for Limitation	0 *children*	1 *child*	2 *children*	*Totals*	*Per cent*
Health	33	46	29	108	28.0
Sterility	56	3		59	15.3
Economic	22	40	32	94	24.4
Personal	38	32	18	88	23.0
Late marriage	11	4	3	18	4.7
Death of one parent		8		8	2.0
Miscellaneous	2	5	3	10	2.6
Totals	162	138	85	385	100.0

The data are summarized in Table I. In only 13 instances, or 3.4 per cent of the cases, was more than one reason for limitation given. These I listed, with one exception, by the reason mentioned first. The miscellaneous reasons given were: divorce 5; miscarriage 3; war 2.

The assumption that the family size among cultured people is restricted primarily for selfish or personal reasons is obviously not borne out by the data, for this covers only 23 per cent of the cases. Even when the economic reason is looked upon as an excuse and is classed with personal convenience, we still have less than half of the cases accounted for. But the economic reason cannot always be classed as a mere excuse; neither can all the reasons classed under the head of "personal" be brushed aside as unsound.

The following are examples of reasons under the heads of "economic" and "personal" that are hard to brush aside.

No children. Relatives dependent on them for support.
No children. Husband shiftless and wife has to work for support.
Two children. Younger child an invalid entailing great care and expense.
Two children. Incompatibility of parents, though continuing to keep home for children.
One child. Mother has horror of having experience again.

Such reasons as the following would usually be classed as unsound. They appear far more frequently than those in the preceding group.

Two children. Standard of living too high to afford more.
One child. Wife doesn't care for household duties. Both doing graduate work and both want teaching careers in college.
One child. Wife wants to work although this is not necessary.
No children. Husband dislikes children and insists on none.
No children. Both wife and husband are only children and fear jealousy over a child and so refuse to have one.
Two children. Wanted no more because of standards set by others.
No children. Wife holds a good position which she is unwilling to give up.
One child. Both want career and social pleasures.
One child, age 13. Both working, husband earning $5,000, wife $2,400. Wife says she would like to have another but that they can't afford to. This is really true because they are very poor managers and still owe money on their home.

Persons who do not want children, persons who are so subservient to fashion that they let it control their size of family, persons who are incompetent vocationally or who cannot manage with fair or liberal finances, women who prefer careers and the pleasures of society to the making of homes are probably rendering a real service to the race by not perpetuating their kind. The antiracial traits which they carry are being lessened or eliminated by the process of selection. To the extent, however, that these persons do not know their real selves, to the extent that they are ignorant of life's basic satisfactions, or to the extent that their conceptions of life have become distorted, to that extent education, and perhaps mental hygiene, can come to their rescue. Education could, it sometimes seems, do more than it is doing to give young people a balanced conception of life's values, and some mental twists that have been acquired through unfortunate impressions could, perhaps, be straightened out by psychomedical skill.

Financial limitations loom large in the family plans of many intelligent and forward-looking people. It is but natural for such people to want the best in educational and social opportunities for their children and when the prospects of an adequate income are not forthcoming, the family size is restricted to fit the income. They sincerely believe that to give much to one or two children is better than to give little or less to three or four. Some do not realize that to be an only child is a misfortune; that the health and caliber of the third and fourth children are usually better than those of the first and second; and that simple living and a fair amount of responsibility, of adversity, and of doing without are molders of character.

The economic problem as related to race welfare is, however, not disposed of in its entirety by the preceding paragraph; far from it. Our entire economic order and our urban living are quite inimical to race welfare. Our economic order is still medieval in its conception and, in the crowded conditions of city living, children are in the way. The ultra-individualistic basis of our commerce and industry fits neither our selfish and often conniving human nature nor our vastly interrelated social fabric. If all people were fully intelligent, altruistic, honest, and efficient it might work, but even then we would have to get together, work out, and adopt a nation-wide, perhaps a world-wide, economic plan. Such a plan is now all but absent and this leads to perpetual economic maladjustments, to an unfair distribution of wealth, and to a widespread feeling of economic insecurity. No race can develop in caliber and quality under such conditions and in such an atmosphere. A sound eugenics program is inextricably bound up with a sound and forward-looking social, economic, and political program; anything less than that is a mere palliative. It is a problem for socially minded statesmen and economists. The development of the physical sciences and of technical appliances is not solving but is accentuating the problem. The next move must be made by our social engineers.

Their task is vastly more difficult than that of our technical engineers for they must attain their end through the will of the electorate. This not only requires a long and far-reaching campaign of enlightenment, but it requires also the routing of a vast array of interests that are intrenched against it.

In one respect economic readjustment could even now be doing more for race welfare than it is doing, and that is through the adjustment of salaries. In schools, colleges, and business establishments where salaries are paid, the annual increases are usually teased out into amounts so small that the recipient is well along towards middle life before he receives an adequate income. He is usually not in a position to support a family until the time when he should be thinking of grandchildren. The argument is not that the aggregate income for life should be larger but that it should be differently distributed. The distinctly successful person should be given substantial increases earlier so that he could support a home and family at the proper time, even though this meant that his ultimate salary would not rise so high as it does now and that his average salary for life would not be increased. This assumes, of course, that institutions are now paying out as much in salaries as conditions permit.

Fully as serious for personal happiness and racial welfare as the economic factor, if not more serious, are the factors of health and sterility. The largest single cause for family curtailment is the factor of health, usually that of the wife, which covers 28 per cent of our cases. Sterility, which absorbs 15 per cent more of the cases, is closely related to health. Combined (43 per cent), these two factors are nearly as potent as the economic and personal factors combined (47 per cent).

The factors of health and sterility indicate that there is something seriously amiss in our mode of life and development. They present a situation to the home, the school, and the medical profession that under a combined attack

could be largely met. No one wants to be in feeble health or to be sterile. To bring about a full realization of the situation alone would be to win half the battle. The analyses and histories of one hundred cases of sterility might be enough to reveal the basic causal factors and their relative strength. Without a full knowledge of causes an intelligent and concerted attack could not be made.

Some of the causes of sterility are even now well known to the medical profession, but the knowledge needs to be spread more generally to parents and to teachers. The pressure of school work, combined with excessive social participation, appears to be especially detrimental between the ages of eleven and fifteen, in particular to sensitive, high-strung girls. This is the time when the reproductive organs undergo rapid development and need all the energy that the organism can spare. To draft this energy into other channels is to court danger ahead. Thoroughgoing and sympathetic, yet undeviating, individual hygiene should be in the saddle. For many young people during this period, school work should be lightened, late hours curtailed, rest and sleep extended, daily play in the open air encouraged, simple and wholesome food provided, and, second to no other, a serene and happy home atmosphere should be cultivated. Every one of these conditions is difficult to attain and no single family can attain them alone. The homes of a community must be in agreement and the school and the home must coöperate. Parent-teacher associations in junior and in general high schools furnish a hopeful avenue of approach.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL *may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF TEACHERS

This project[1] is an attempt to determine the content of part of educational sociology by means of a survey of the opinions of the editors and contributing editors of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. These persons have all been given a copy of Charters and Waples's master list of teacher's type activities, and they have been asked to check those activities that, in their opinion, may be performed more efficiently with a knowledge of sociology. These opinions will be organized and checked for reliability. By means of this study the educational sociologist should be able to prepare a course in educational sociology that will give teachers knowledge, skills, etc., that will apply to the problems they will have on the job.

CHICAGO COMMUNITY RESEARCH

For several years the program of local community research at the University of Chicago has been carried on under the name of "The Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago." Recently the work of research has so broadened its interests that the name of the committee has been changed to "The Social Science Research Committee." Professor Leonard D. White who for many years served as executive secretary of the committee has resigned in order to devote more time to his own research. He has been succeeded by Professor Donald

[1] Statement furnished through the courtesy of L. D. Zeleny, Professor of Sociology, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

Slesinger who has been active in the development of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.

Hoover Committee on Social Trends

Last fall the first official information was released concerning the interests of the President's Committee on Social Trends. It was indicated at that time that the purpose of the committee is "to study social changes in the United States primarily in order to bring together information which may help the public to solve the problems created by these changes."

> Social changes are brought about by inventions, discoveries, utilization of natural resources, restriction of immigration, the spread of education, new methods of manufacturing, declining birth and death rates, and so on, which are changes in themselves and which are the result of previous changes. These basic factors of social change and their consequences are the concern of the investigators of the President's Committee.
>
> The changes accompanying these so-called basic changes are roughly divisible into three groups: first, there are the changes in our social institutions as exemplified by the changes in the family, in the position of women outside the home, in the vitality of the people, in the status of racial and ethnic groups, in the status of the child, and in occupations. There are other changes in our customs and habits as shown by the arts, rural life, urban problems, the changing rôle of labor and labor groups, religious organizations, associations and recreation, and consumption habits. Finally, there are the changes in methods of dealing with the problems which arise as a result of our attempts to make new adjustments to new changes. These changes in methods are under scrutiny in studies of law and legal institutions, private welfare agencies, public health and medicine, public administration, extension of governmental functions, and public welfare.[2]

Continuing Study of the Homeless

The Department of Research of the Welfare Council of New York City is continuing its study of the homeless which has been under way one year. It began as a study of the different agencies dealing with the homeless, their

[2] Reported in the *Bulletin* of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, December, 1930.

methods, policies, and something of results. The institutional analysis is still under way and is being supplemented now by some general statistical materials about types and behavior of types of homeless persons. That will later be supplemented by a number of treatment case studies. The staff will concentrate on types (old men, psychopathic, boys, etc.) doing casework and making case studies at the same time. The latter phase of the work will occupy most of the coming year.

Statistical Summary of Education

The Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior has published a "Statistical Summary of Education 1927-28" by Frank M. Philips, chief of the Division of Statistics. The purpose of the report is "to bring together and to summarize statistical information published in other chapters of the biennial survey of education and to present some new material that does not belong exclusively to any other statistical report." The report contains data on school and college enrollment, expenditures and per capita cost of schools, distribution of teachers, percentage of the college age group in colleges, per cent of high-school graduates continuing education, summer schools, cost of school and college textbooks, value of school property, and high-school enrollment by subjects.[3]

Chicago Society for Social Research

The tenth Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago will be held on the University campus in August 1931. During the latter part of 1930, meetings of the Institute dealt with the sociological research possibilities of Soviet Russia, "Science without Concepts," contemporary sociological research in France, and the decline of the prison population in England. The form of the *Bulletin* of the Society has been changed to enable it to be published more frequently.[4]

[3] The report is Bulletin No. 3, 1930.

[4] Membership in the Society is open to sociologists upon the payment of annual dues of one dollar.

BOOK REVIEWS

Education and International Relations, by DANIEL PRESCOTT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 168 pages.

Social forces operating through formal education to produce or modify international attitudes are the theme of this study. Its scope is confined almost entirely to England, France, Austria, and Germany, with occasional references to other European nations. Two years of field work in Europe provided the basis for the book.

The major contribution of the book lies in the attempt to study and describe intangibles. There have been previous investigations of the international implications of textbooks used in European schools (see for instance: Scott's *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*). Prescott's study is of a different and much more difficult type. It endeavors to describe and evaluate the subtle "spirit" of the schools, the effects of conflicting national and group sentiments, the pressure of the opinion of organized teachers, and other related factors. Although these forces are not easy to depict objectively, they are doubtless fully as important as the content of textbooks or the dicta of official orders.

The book ends on an optimistic note by calling attention to the way in which science has made the world a unit. Many European educators visualize an interdependent world. They are not quite certain what they should do about it, but they have resolved to do what they can. On the whole, the schools are earnestly seeking to contribute towards effective international relations. They see the goal; they are ready to march; all that they need is a new Horace Mann to transpose their ideals into action.

WILLIAM G. CARR

Introduction to Contemporary Civilization, by WALTER LIBBY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929, 304 pages.

It is the business of the historian of civilization to present to the reader in broad but concrete and definite outline, the results of the interaction of the various elements of civilization upon each other and upon the central stream of human achievement. This does not mean that he must be a specialist in every department of human learning; no individual can achieve that distinction; but he must be able to know enough about each field to interpret them in terms of their contribution to the sum total of human achievement.

Dr. Libby in his work on contemporary civilization meets the test here set forth in a commendable way.

After setting forth in a few brief chapters the theory of the origin of plant and animal life, including man, he presents with a swift and sure pen the evolution and present status of the various elements—political, economic, social, cultural, religious—that constitute our present civilization. His broad and unbiased treatment of such topics as socialism, capitalism, internationalism, and religion is specially worthy of commendation. The book is planned as a text in contemporary civilization for college classes. There is a good working bibliography and other student helps at the end of the chapters.

One feature of the work that render it objectionable as a college text is the too great condensation of the material. Within the limits of a book of only 272 pages of material, he has touched upon topics that should have had twice the space allotted to them. His treatment renders the material difficult of analysis and retention on the part of the student. Another feature that is possibly a fault is the too great break between the beginnings of civilization and contemporary life. The civilization of the present would have been rendered more intelligible to the reader had the author given a more comprehensive treatment of the background of this civilization. DUDLEY F. MCCOLLUM

Psychology in the Service of the Soul, by LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, 219 pages.

This little book shows how a clergyman can help restore to mental health those members of his flock whose personalities have become disintegrated. Mr. Weatherhead's is a form of ministry to individuals which he admits not every pastor should undertake. His book indicates a simple technique of pastoral psychology and "spiritual psychotherapeutics" which a minister who is willing to spend five or six years of hard study may undertake without transgressing on the fields of the physician, neurologist, psychiatrist, or social worker. Unlike the Christian Scientist or the faith healers, the author does not advance his theories or techniques as a substitute for medicine, surgery, and social adjustment. He indicates by citing examples the types of cases which belong in the province of the clergyman. His sort of "spiritual healing" is a supplementary method rather than a separate art, not intended ever to supersede the practice of medicine and surgery. He approaches his task from the standpoint of the psychoanalyst, using the techniques of Freud, Adler, and Jung, without committing himself to their determinism or their materialism.

Frequent mention is made in the book of the place in the restoration of a nervous breakdown of the forgiveness of sin. One wonders if his pastoral techniques would be so effective with people who had no background of Christian religious teaching, and therefore no concept of sin. Many of his mentally sick were plainly disintegrated by their infantile

world culture. It is to be hoped that subsequent writers, or the same writer will build, on the basis of this and similar factual investigations, a treatise which will reveal some of the needed changes in our program of citizenship training.

Meanwhile, this investigation irreverently and emphatically shoves one superstititon into its grave. The "pro-British" textbook phobia in the schools of the United States can now be laughed out of existence. This is no small contribution. WILLIAM G. CARR

An Introduction to Human Problems, by HAROLD BENJAMIN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, 472 pages.

This book is designed for use in orientation courses for college freshmen. The author's conception of orientation is that of an attempt "to present the outstanding problems of the human race not from the standpoint of specialists . . . but rather from the standpoint of one who is interested in the whole field of human endeavor to the extent that he appreciates and supports the efforts of workers in every department of learning to advance the wisdom and welfare of mankind. The aim is to develop an appreciation of advanced study."

In the books so far written in this field there have been two methods of attack, so far as classroom procedure is concerned. The one assumes that the orientation of the lowly freshman is too stupendous a task for any one man however cosmic or versatile his intellectual equipment. This view proposes faculty team work bringing to bear upon the freshmen the machine-gun practice of high-powered specialists—each attempting under serious time-limitation handicaps to conduct personally a Cook's tour for underclassmen through the mysteries of his specialty. The other method—the one used in this book—undertakes the enterprise single-handed and assumes that teacher and learner may go together on the hazardous journey somewhat after the manner of Dante and Vergil on a similar exploit. This I like best; for the idea emerges that perhaps both freshmen and teacher of freshmen may need the orientation service. It is also more like fair play; for in this case the physician shows willingness to take his own medicine. Reading the book, or sampling even a single chapter, will convince the reader of the following things, to wit: (1) that under the new conception of a liberal education, we older folks shall have either to reënter as freshmen or teach a class in orientation; (2) that subject-matter orientation and orientation in methods of college work may be undertaken in the same course; and (3) that Mr. Benjamin has made a real contribution towards the solution of this very significant problem in college teaching. J. O. CREAGER

inadequacy in handling feelings of guilt. The clergyman removes this cause of inner tension by giving the patient what is virtually an absolution from his sins and a glad sense of relief from his burdens. Very good. But would this procedure work with those whose "ego ideal" did not cause them to feel stained and condemned, for example, by sex expression which the churches condemn?

The book has an introduction by John Rathbone Oliver, who sums up the principal value of the book as "simple methods of psychotherapy *from the standpoint of the Christian religion.*"

SAMUEL L. HAMILTON

Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, by BESSIE PIERCE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. 297 pages.

This book, one of a series of studies of citizenship in the making, reports a survey of about 400 commonly used textbooks to find out what civic and international attitudes may be built up in the children who study them. As far as American textbooks are concerned it is by far the most complete study of this type ever made.

Canada is our good friend and France has always been a brave and dashing comrade. But Spain is harsh and tyrannical, England is our traditional foe, Germany is greedy, rapacious, and militaristic, Mexico is an untrustworthy and dishonest neighbor. These, Professor Pierce finds, are a few of the impressions which are likely to be derived from many textbooks now in the hands of American boys and girls. Our future citizens run small danger of being made disloyal to American traditions by the contents of their textbooks. On the contrary, the textbooks seldom go even so far as to criticize American activities or American points of view.

Particularly hopeful for the future is the observed tendency in some of the more recent histories to present all aspects of controversial issues. Recent geographies, too, are pointing out the economic interdependence of the world. The book makes no direct suggestions and urges no changes. Such is not its function. It is a book of facts about textbooks, facts logically marshalled and interestingly passed in review. But one cannot dodge the question with which the book closes. "What do the American people wish their children to remember?" The implications of this study for educational leaders, textbook writers, and teachers will probably differ with the individual reader. A few may view the findings with pleased complacency; many will doubtless seek ways and means of altering the memories now being stored away by our boys and girls. These will urge, not merely a change in the content of textbooks, but a change in the ultimate purposes of civic training. They will seek a more adequate recognition of the growth and significance of a

Contemporary Social Movements, by JEROME DAVIS. New York: The Century Company, 1930, 901 pages.

Students of the social sciences, as well as laymen, should be grateful that so competent a scholar and investigator as Professor Jerome Davis has given them this valuable source book. For in it we have the most comprehensive collection of exposition, criticism, and first-hand material dealing with modern social movements yet printed in this country. The work is planned as a college textbook; and to this end is elaborately equipped with bibliographies, questions for students, brief extracts from classic utopias (which, in the opinion of this reviewer, might well have been omitted), and with introductory chapters providing a broad sociological background for the interpretation of present tendencies. But the most interesting features of the book, which runs to 901 pages, are quite apart from this pedagogical framework. They consist in the full, many-sided presentations of the history, theory, significance, and leadership of such contemporary social movements as: Socialism (to which 150 pages is devoted); Fascism (which receives 100 pages); Communism (203 pages); the British Labor Movement (115 pages); the Peace Movement (120 pages); the Coöperative Movement (68 pages); and the American Labor Movement (36 pages). As might be expected, owing to Mr. Davis's first-hand knowledge of the field, the selections dealing with Russian Communism are particularly good. These include, besides extracts from the writings of Lenin and Stalin outlining the theory of Communism, well-chosen analyses of the present economic situation, the machinery of government, the new family, the condition of religion, as well as criticisms of the movement, and material to show its significance for the United States. (For instance, there is a statement prepared by Mr. Kellogg as Secretary of State in 1928 on the foreign relations policy of the United States towards Russia, which was sent by the State Department for inclusion in this volume.) Finally there is a most useful annotated bibliography of 165 works in English dealing with Communism. The other social developments are accorded similarly thorough treatment.

MARIE C. SWABEY

Acknowledging the receipt of the following review copies of books sent to THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, reviews of which will appear in early issues of the JOURNAL:

A, B, C, of Nerves, by D. F. FRASER-HARRIS. New York: Alfred Knopf

Adolescence: Studies in Mental Hygiene, by FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart

American Charities and Social Work, by AMOS GRISWOLD WARNER, STUART ALFRED QUEEN, and ERNEST BOULDWIN HARPER. New York: T. Y. Crowell Company

America's Marriage and Sex Problems, by WILLIAM J. ROBINSON. New York: Eugenics Publishing Company

Amusements for Invalids, by MARY WOODMAN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company

Ants, by JULIAN HUXLEY. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith

Art of Straight Thinking, by EDWIN LEAVITT CLARKE. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Awakening College, by CLARENCE COOK LITTLE. New York: W. W. Norton and Company

Because I Stutter, by WENDELL JOHNSON. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Behaviorism, by JOHN B. WATSON. New York: W. W. Norton and Company

Biological Basis of Human Nature, by H. S. JENNINGS. New York: W. W. Norton and Company

Bodily Changes in Hunger, Fear and Rage, By WALTER B. CANNON. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Camping and Education, by BERNARD S. MASON. New York: The McCall Company

Case of Miss R., by ALFRED ADLER. New York: Greenburg Publishers

Child Adjustment, by ANNIE DOLMAN INSKEEP. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Child From Five to Ten, by EVELYN and MIRIAM KENWRICK. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company

Child Psychology, by MARGARET WOOSTER CURTI. New York: Longmans, Green and Company

Child's Emotions, Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Character Development, February 1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Children and the Movies, by ALICE MILLER MITCHELL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Children at the Crossroads, by AGNES E. BENEDICT. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications

Civilization and Its Discontents, by SIGMUND FREUD. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith

Civilization and the Cripple, by FREDERICK WATSON. London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd.

Consistency of Certain Extrovert-Introvert Behavior Patterns in 51 Problem Boys, by THEODORE M. NEWCOMB. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University

Contribution of Economics to Social Work, by AMY HEWES. New York: Columbia University Press.

Culture and Progress, by WILSON D. WALLIS. New York: Whittlesey House

Dependent Child, by HENRY W. THURSTON. New York: Columbia University Press

Diagnosis of Health, by WILLIAM R. P. EMERSON. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Domestic Discord, by ERNEST R. MOWRER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Educational Measurement in High School, by C. W. ODELL. New York: The Century Company

Educational Psychology, by PETER SANDIFORD. New York: Longmans, Green and Company

Ethnography, by LOOMIS HAVEMEYER. New York: Ginn and Company

Evolution of the Common School, by EDWARD H. REISNER. New York: The Macmillan Company

Extra Curricular Library, Series of Five Books. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company

Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women, by KATHERINE BEMENT DAVIS. New York: Harper and Brothers

Farm Children, by BIRD T. BALDWIN, EVA ABIGAIL FILLMORE, and LORA HADLEY. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Fifty Little Businesses for Women, by MARY RAYMOND DODGE. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company

First Year of Life, by CHARLOTTE BÜHLER. New York: The John Day Company

Foundations of Educational Sociology, by CHARLES CLINTON PETERS. New York: The Macmillan Company

General Psychology for College Students, by CARL NEWTON REXROAD. New York: The Macmillan Company

Genetic Studies of Genius, Volume III, by BARBARA STODDARD BURKS, *et al.* Stanford University: Stanford University Press

Growing Up, by KARL DE SCHWEINITZ. New York: The Macmillan Company

Growing Up in New Guinea, by MARGARET MEAD. New York: William Morrow and Company

Guiding Rural Boys and Girls, by O. LATHAM HATCHER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Handbook on Positive Health, prepared and issued by the Women's Foundation for Health, Inc., New York

Healthy-Minded Child, by NELSON ANTRIM CRAWFORD and KARL A. MENNINGER. New York: Coward-McCann, Incorporated

History of Social Thought, by EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Los Angeles: Jesse Ray Miller

How Great Cities Are Fed, by W. P. HEDDEN. New York: D. C. Heath and Company

Hygiene of the School Child, by LEWIS M. TERMAN and JOHN C. ALMACK. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Inglis Lecture, by THOMAS H. BRIGGS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Insomnia: How to Combat It, by JOSEPH COLLINS. New York: D. Appleton and Company

Intelligence Tests, by WALTER FENNO DEARBORN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Jewish Experiences in America, edited by BRUNO LASKER. New York: The Inquiry

Law and Social Work, by JOHN S. BRADWAY. Social Service Monograph. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Man and Woman, by HAVELOCK ELLIS. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

Management of Young Children, by WILLIAM E. BLATZ and HELEN BOTT. New York: William Morrow and Company

Manual of Occupations, by RUTHERFORD PLATT. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons

Marriage, Past, Present and Future, by RALPH DE POMERAI. New York: Richard R. Smith, Incorporated

Measurement in Social Work, by A. W. MCMILLEN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Mental Hygiene and Social Work, by PORTER R. LEE and MARION E. KENWORTHY. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications

Methods of Correlation Analysis, by MORDECAI EZEKIEL. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated

Money Value of a Man, by LOUIS I. DUBLIN and ALFRED J. LOTKA. New York: Ronald Press Company

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The Evolution of the Juvenile Delinquent

In a most illuminating interview with Dr. Frederick M. Thrasher of the Boys' Club Study work in the department of educational sociology, School of Education, New York University, as reported in the February 19 issue of the *Evening World,* there is outlined the conditions producing a gang as well as the making of the young delinquent. According to Dr. Thrasher, gangs originate in the interstitial areas of the city. These areas are defined as sections of the city in transition; that is, changing from residential areas to business districts. In this transitional stage property deteriorates; families who can afford to do so move away; rents are relatively cheap; all that is left are families who live where they have to. Further, "the children of these families spend most of their time on the streets. And the streets educate them with fatal precision. They come in contact with vice, with crime, with the gambler, the racketeer, the gunman, the peddler of drugs, and the drug addict. There are four big lessons they learn in their life on the streets. First, they learn to stay away from home, to make their own unstable, precarious living in some fashion or another. Second, they learn a certain philosophy of fatalism; they all expect to get caught sooner or later, so the philosophy is: 'Might as well take a chance.' The third lesson of the streets is disrespect for law and order. They see corruption where it exists and they confound corruption and cleverness. The fourth lesson is the technique of crime—and they learn it young and well."

Dr. Emma A. Winslow, formerly of the staff of Teachers College, and recently a member of the President's Crime Commission, is research director for the New Jersey Commission on Old Age Pensions.

Dr. Samuel Burkhard, professor of education, Arizona State Teachers College, Tempe, Arizona, has been invited to teach in the summer school of State Teachers College at Emporia, Kansas.

Wesley E. Peik, assistant professor in the College of Education, University of Minnesota, and author of *The Professional Education of High School Teachers,* has been appointed curriculum expert in a survey of the education of teachers in all the liberal arts and junior colleges, State and private universities in the United States. The work will cover three years, beginning immediately.

Professor Forrest E. Long, department of secondary education, School of Education, New York University, will give a series of lectures on the junior-high-school organization during the latter part of May and the early part of June at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Dr. James N. Rule, deputy superintendent of public instruction of Pennsylvania, has been designated by the governor as acting head of the department until a successsor to John A. H. Keith is appointed. Dr. Keith's term of office expired on January 24.

Mr. Fred I. Kent, New York banker and financial economist, has been elected president of the Council of New York University to succeed the late Dr. George Alexander. The election of Mr. Kent was in recognition, Chancellor Brown said, "of his active interest in the furtherance of the educational program of New York University."

Value of Home Study

The organized thought of the world is recorded in books; these constitute the epitomized depositories of racial experience. It is from these sources that the material of instruction and practice is largely drawn and the teacher, as a guide, plays the important rôle of giving the formal presentation of the book an attractive setting to make the assimilation of content by the learner, pleasantly effective. As the pupil progresses, he must develop the power to learn by himself and to depend less and less upon the teacher. The efficient teacher becomes dispensable when the pupil or student develops the power to teach himself. Unfortunately, this great power of study is not as generally developed even among mature students as a scheme of effective education should require.—WILLIAM J. O'SHEA, *Superintendent of Schools, New York City.*

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Professor F. Stuart Chapin attended the University of Rochester and received the degree of bachelor of science in 1909, that of master in 1910, and that of doctor in 1911 from Columbia. He has taught at Wellesley and at Smith. At present he is professor of sociology, chairman of the department and director of training courses for social and civic work at the University of Minnesota. He was president of the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work, 1927-1928. Dr. Chapin is a member of the American Sociological Society, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Association of Advanced Science, Institut Internationale de Sociologie, Social Science Research Council, Instituto Internazionale di Sociologia e di Riforme Politiche e Sociali, fellow of the American Statistical Association. Dr. Chapin is the author of the following books: *Education and the Mores, An Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution, Prehistoric Period, A Historical Introduction to Social Economy,* and *Field Work and Social Research.*

Dr. L. H. Ad. Geck received his Ph.D. degree in 1921 and his Dr. Jur. degree in 1925 from the University of Bonn. From 1925 to 1927 he was assistant at the University of Münster, and is at this time assistant at the Institute for Workshop Sociology of the Technical College of Berlin-Charlottenburg. Since 1926 he has been a collaborator of the German Institute for Scientific Education at Münster. In 1928 he published an introduction to the non-German literature of social psychology and in 1929 an introduction to the German literature of social psychology. Part of the latter will be published in *Sociology and Social Research,* He has written several papers on social education, workers' education in general, and workers' education in the United States. His main studies concern problems of sociology, social psychology, and social education.

Profesor William H. Kilpatrick received his bachelor's degree in 1891, the master's in 1892 and the doctor of laws in 1926 from Mercer University; in 1912 he received the doctor's degree from Columbia University. Dr. Kilpatrick has taught in the public schools of Georgia, has been professor at Mercer University, and at present is professor of education at Teachers College. He is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the author of the following books: *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York, The Montessori System Examined, Froebel's Kindergarten Principles Critically Examined, Source Book in the Philosophy of Education, Foundations of Method,* and *Education for a Changing Civilization.* He has also contributed numerous articles on educational topics to journals and magazines.

Dr. William C. Ruediger received his Ph.B. in 1899, and his Ph.M. in 1903 from the University of Wisconsin. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1907; and his doctor's diploma from Teachers College in 1907. Professor Ruediger has taught in many institutions, has been dean of Teachers College, director of Summer School, and at present is professor at George Washington University. He is the author of *The Field of Distinct Vision, The Principles of Education, Agencies for the Improvement of Teachers in Service,* and *Vitalized Teaching.*

Dr. Harry M. Tiebout received his M.D. degree at Johns Hopkins in 1921, after which he served a year's interneship at the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic. Following that he served on the staff of the Bloomingdale Hospital, White Plains, in demonstration child guidance clinics in Cleveland and Philadelphia, and since the organization of the Institute for Child Guidance, New York City, on its staff. He has contributed many articles appearing in both scientific and lay journals.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published Monthly except July and August at Albany, N. Y. for April, 1931.

State of New York } ss
County of Albany }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared A. J. Fowers, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, American Viewpoint Society, Inc.....13 Astor Place, New York City
Editor, E. George Payne.....Washington Sq. East, New York City
Business Manager, A. J. Fowers.....883 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

The American Viewpoint Society, Inc.....13 Astor Place, New York City
Jeremiah W. Jenks.....13 Astor Place, New York City
Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins.....New York City
The Brandow Printing Co.....883 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.
Mury Elman.....13 Astor Place, New York City
R. E. Smith.....New York City

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

A. J. FOWERS, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of April, 1931.

W. S. RYAN,

(My commission expires March 31, 1932)

The JOURNAL *of* EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV MAY, 1931 No.9

EDITORIAL

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has been interested in subjects related to its general field: the application of sociology to education. One of these with which it has been particularly concerned is research. Recognizing the importance of research as a basis for social planning in education, the JOURNAL has maintained from its beginning a department of research methods and projects in educational sociology. Its readers have been invited to submit research studies in process or contemplated and to describe the organization and methods of such studies.

In pursuance of this interest the JOURNAL presents herewith a special number devoted to research, designed to indicate some methods of organization and techniques of investigation. The present number does not attempt to exhaust the field or present all the representative types of research. Much good material which has been made available for this issue has had to be omitted for lack of space.

In addition to articles devoted to technical problems of methodology in the present number, the attempt is made to describe some current research set-ups such as those of the Yale Institute of Human Relations, the National Education Association, and the Welfare Council of New York City. A statement of the history and work of the Social Science Research Council, provided through the courtesy of

Robert S. Lynd, secretary of the Council, and M. F. Hall, secretary to Mr. Lynd, will appear in the June issue of the JOURNAL.

It is hoped that further reports of research projects and methods will be forwarded to the JOURNAL from time to time to appear in its regular monthly department.

This issue of the JOURNAL has been prepared by Professor Frederic M. Thrasher, editor of the department of research methods and projects.

OMISSION

Due to an error Mr. Adolph Aleck, instructor in the School of Education, New York University, was not given credit for the translation of Mr. L. H. Ad. Geck's article "German Publications in 1929 and 1930 on Problems of Social Education" which appeared in the April number.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTROLS IN EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY

F. STUART CHAPIN

Expressions of skepticism of the possibility of experimental work in sociology are due to misunderstanding of the connotation of the term "control" in such research. Objections seem to be due sometimes to confusion occasioned by the false analogy of vivisection. Experimental method in sociology does not mean holding an active human being in a vise-like grip. It does not mean interference with individual movement or freedom. It does not endanger life and limb or moral character. Experimental work in sociology means the possibility of passive description in terms of standardized units of a scale of measurement.

Experimental method is observation under conditions of control. All factors save the one to be measured are held constant. Otherwise we would not know whether the effect was due to both factors in combination, or to that one which overbalanced the others. If no effect ensued we could not tell which factor was responsible or whether one neutralized the other.[1]

There are two implicit assumptions in experimental method, assumptions which should be recognized and stated explicitly, otherwise confusion of interpretation results. The first implicit assumption is that we can identify the causal factors (or enumerate them). The second implicit assumption is that having identified some of the causal factors we can then hold them constant. Let us examine these two assumptions carefully.

Can we identify the causal factors? If the answer is affirmative it is based on the fact or the assumption that we have previously experienced or observed these causal factors. The fact of previous experience is the empirical basis

[1] F. Stuart Chapin, "The Experimental Method and Sociology," *The Scientific Monthly*, February and March, 1917, pp. 133-144; pp. 238-247.

of our procedure. Or we may say that our knowledge of the causal factors in the situation is empirical and usually not scientific in the sense of knowledge based on previous measurement of the causal factors. If we merely assume that we have identified the causal factors, our position is even less secure. In any event proof (or reasonable certainty) must rest on rotation of these supposedly causal factors (constants) in successive experimental situations, and methodical attempts to describe them in terms of units of a scale of measurement.

Let us assume, then, that we have identified some of the causal factors in a situation and we desire to study the effect of some additional variable factor. Our first step is to hold these known casual factors constant and to allow the single variable factor to change so that we may observe the effects. Now just how do we hold these causal factors constant? This is the crux of the whole experimental procedure. The verbal answer is so simple as to seem either trite or deceptive. It is—measure these causal factors (describe them quantitatively), for when two variables show the same measurement under like conditions they may be regarded as constants as concerns the attribute measured (for all practical purposes). Although the verbal answer is direct and simple, the construction and application of a procedure of study which enables us to measure or to describe a variable quantitatively is by no means simple. But given a standardized tool of measurement it is possible to select subjects with identical measurements of the significant attribute and then to set them up an experimental situation with the assurance that so far as these attributes are concerned we have our constants or controls and may proceed to observations of the variable factor which is the chief subject of investigation. It thus appears that experimental procedure hinges on the possibility of measurement. Inasmuch as I have treated this subject at length in a recent paper[2] and even more recently Miss McCormick has pub-

[2] F. Stuart Chapin, "The Meaning of Measurement in Sociology," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (1930), pp. 83-94.

lished two admirable monographs on the subject,[3] I shall not attempt to review this very technical problem here, but suggest that the reader consult these sources. All that it seems necessary to note here is the fact that the possibility of measurement or quantitative description depends upon setting up weighted scales and then standardizing these scales by tests for reliability and validity in accordance with well established and authenticated procedures.

The foregoing discussion of the logic of experimental method in sociology now requires elaboration by the introduction of specific examples which will illustrate each point. The literature of experimental sociology is rapidly increasing[4] and it would be impossible to summarize it in this space. I shall, therefore, merely describe some types of experimental study which illustrate the logical procedures and criteria of the method and then pass on to an attempt to distinguish four variations in experimental study as now used in the investigation of sociological problems.

My analysis of this selected list of experimental studies will subject each study presented to four tests of experimental method: (1) identification and enumeration of the known (probable) causal factors; (2) description of the devices used to hold these causal factors constant; (3) statement of the variable factor to be measured; and (4) description of the devices used to measure the variable factor.

The first study is that of Miss Marjorie J. Walker at the University of Minnesota[5] and is an investigation of social interaction in young children with special reference to subordination-domination. Among the known and probable causal factors in a subordination-domination situation are the presence of a strong stimulus to produce a struggle

[3] *Mary J. McCormick, "The Measurement of Home Conditions," No. 1, 1929, 23pp.; A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy, No. 3, 1930, 73 pp.; in Social Science Monographs (Washington, D. C.: National Catholic School of Social Service).*

[4] H. C. Brearley, "Experimental Sociology," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXV (1931). This survey of the literature includes many studies which are not strictly experimental studies if the criteria of experimentation developed in the present paper are accepted.

[5] William Isaac and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), pp. 519-520 give a brief résumé of this study which is a doctor of philosophy thesis as yet not published.

situation, absence of diverting stimuli in the situation, and no interference with the behavior of the subjects on the part of other persons. The devices used to hold the causal factors constant were exposing the children, in pairs, to an interesting toy which only one at a time could play with (a nonsocial toy); placing the toy in a room bare of other furnishings; and finally, stationing the observers outside the room behind a screened window where they could observe the children but remain unseen by them. The variable factor to be measured under these conditions of control was subordination-domination behavior. The devices used to measure this variable were defined forms of subordination-domination such as impetuous (nonvocal) behavior, commanding (vocal) behavior, pleading, whimpering, screaming, threatening, and bargaining; tests of the reliability with which different observers reported these different forms of behavior were carefully made; and a stop watch was used to record in intervals of five seconds the duration of these different forms of behavior. As will be seen from Table II, the results showed that successful domination was associated with greater weight and height in the first series of experiments. The number of studies of this sort is increasing and they have taken various forms; it is merely necessary to mention the names of a few to illustrate the range in technique and the types of problems studied, for example, Floyd H. Allport,[6] C. A. Anderson,[7] Mildred Parten,[8] P. A. Sorokin,[9] and Dorothy S. Thomas and associates.[10]

The second type of study illustrates a different technique. In this case we do not have as close an approach to the set-up of a laboratory situation. The experiment is

[6] *Social Psychology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), Ch. II.

[7] "Social Facilitation and Intelligence," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (1929), pp. 874-881.

[8] An Analysis of Social Participation, Leadership, and Other Factors in Pre-School Play Groups, University of Minnesota doctor of philosophy thesis, 1929.

[9] "An Experimental Study of Efficiency of Work under Various Specified Conditions," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1930), pp. 765-782.

[10] *Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929), x+ 203 pp.

conducted in a more normal "situation" or a less artificial situation. An example of this type is Earl Hudelson's study of the effect of the size of the class upon the academic achievement of the students in these classes at the University of Minnesota.[11] Although the subject of investigation is not as purely sociological as the study of Miss Walker, it nevertheless illustrates a typical variation in experimental work which has great possibilities of application in sociological study. For reasons of space I shall describe only one experiment selected from the total of 59 experiments, involving 108 classes under 21 instructors in 11 departments and 4 colleges, and involving 6,059 students (4,205 in large classes and 1,854 in small classes). Among the known and probable causes of differences in academic achievements of college students are intelligence, scholarship, and method of instruction, as well as whether the class is small or large. Much of our administrative planning in higher education is based on the assumption that students do better work in small classes. The experiments made by Hudelson and his associates attempted to test this assumption in experimental situations. Consequently the devices used to hold constant the causal factors were: obtaining the rating of students on the Miller A test or their percentile rank on the Minnesota college ability test in order to measure intelligence and scholarship; and using the same instructor, text and method of instruction in the large and small classes. The variable factor to be measured was the size of the class; in the case of the one experiment to be described, a large class of 59 students was compared with a small class of 21 students. The device used to measure the difference in achievement of students in the two classes was a final objective test. The results showed a slight advantage in favor of the large class. The mean score on the final of students in the large class was 90.6 and in the small class was 87.7. This experiment involved pairing

[11] *Class Size at the College Level* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1928), pp. 163-164, 202, 299.

TABLE I

Pairing factors	*Small class* 21 *students*	*Large class* 59 *students*
	Subgroup of 11 students	Subgroup of 11 students
1. Mean intelligence score on freshmen test	62.5 (31.1 s.d.)	61.9 (29.5 s.d.)
2. Mean mark in points	2.56 (0.66 s.d.)	2.55 (0.69 s.d.)
Variable factor of achievement measured by objective final test.....	87.7	90.6

Table 1. Comparison of experimental results in subject group or small class of 21 students with control group or large class of 59 students, in each of which a subgroup of 11 students is matched off for intelligence and marks.

or matching members of the subject group (small class) with members of the control group (large class) for mean intelligence and mean mark (academic grade on studies) in points. Table I shows how the experiment was carried out.

It will be observed that the paired students consisted of 11 in the small class and 11 in the large class whose average scores on the freshman test (college ability test) and average marks in points were practically equal. This illustrates the principle of holding two of the probable causal factors constant. The factor of method of instruction was made constant by using the same instructor, text, methods of teaching, etc., in the two classes. It will be further observed that it was not possible to match up every individual in the small class with a similar individual in the large class, but that the device used was to "imbed" in each class a constituent group of 11 students who were matched for intelligence and for scholarship. This type of experimental study has been widely used in educational research.

The third type of experimental study in sociology illustrates a further departure from the artificial or laboratory control situation. This method is that of comparative analysis by minute subdivision. As an illustration I shall describe Carrol Olson's study of the effect of early religious education in the home upon subsequent participation in church activity among the Latter-Day Saints of Minnesota.[12] Among the known or probable causal factors connected with differences of participation in adult activity of the church are the number of years of secular education and chronological age of the individual. The devices used to measure these two causal factors are obviously number of years per individual. The device used to measure religious activity was a scale based on weights assigned to different forms of participation of members in the varied activities of the church. By using this scale it was possible to obtain a quantitative score for each church participant. The scale was systematically tested for reliability and showed a co-

[12] A Study of the Relation Between Religious Education in the Home and Church Activity and Support Among Latter-Day Saints in Minnesota, master of arts thesis, June, 1928.

efficient of .892.[13] By holding constant the factor of chronological age, that is, by computing the correlation between years of secular education and scores on church activity for a subgroup of 16 members whose ages ranged from 20 to 27 years (this makes age practically constant since the whole group of 40 range from 16 to 51 years), Olson found a correlation of Rho = + .683. Similarly correlations (Rho) for other subgroups of 9 members at 16 to 19 years, 9 members at 28 to 39 years, and 6 members at 40 to 51 years, showed, respectively, +.517, +.520, and +.217. In other words, by the device of subdividing the whole variable group of 40 members, with ages ranging from 16 to 51 years, into smaller groups, with practically constant age, he could measure the relationship between the number of years of secular education and church activity undisturbed by the third factor, chronological age. It may be suggested that he could have computed the partial correlation coefficient. This indeed was done, as is shown in Table II, column 5, row III, where the first order partial correlation coefficient $r_{12\cdot3} = +.543$ may be compared with the zero order $r_{12} = +.438$. Here we see striking proof of the advantage of holding constant one of the variable factors, for when this is done the real relationship of the two factors is found to be higher; *i.e.*, +.543 instead of +.438. If, now, we compute the weighted average of the Rho coefficients based on the subgroups we obtain +.539, or a figure close to the partial correlation coefficient, which is as it should be.[14] Taking religious education in the home (measured by a weighted scale tested for reliability),[15] Olson found that the relationship between religious education and church activity was + .432. Here again, analysis by minute subdivision, or by partial correlation to hold one factor (secular education) constant, showed a definite effect, this time to decrease the coefficient from +.432 to +.275 (partial first order), or + .339 (weighted average of Rho

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

[14] Carrol Olson, A Study of the Relation Between Religious Education in the Home and Church Activity and Support among Latter-Day Saints in Minnesota, master of arts thesis, June 1928, pp. 60-61.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

coefficients of three subgroups). The purpose of this analysis is merely to show the effectiveness of holding certain factors constant by the device of minute subdivision into subgroups for which one of three factors studied is constant.

The fourth and final illustration of the use of controlled factors in sociological research is Frank A. Ross's analysis of school attendance in Texas counties in 1920.[16] This study is a straight analysis in terms of the technique of partial correlation. This method is not as trustworthy as that of analysis by minute subdivision because its validity depends upon whether or not the data can meet certain assumptions of normal probability and random sampling. In the former case (Olson's study) it was possible to check the validity of partial correlation analysis by minute subdivision and the check was satisfactory, but this is not often the case. But to return to the Ross study. The probable causal factors connected with school attendance are foreign-bornness, illiteracy, and density of population. Foreign-born parents are not likely to be insistent on regular school attendance. Illiterate parents certainly are not. Sparsity of population as in rural regions is associated with difficulties in getting to school. These factors were measured by computing simple numerical rates, and similarly with school attendance. Ross found that school attendance and density of population were correlated $r_{14} = +.092$, or were practically unrelated. This seemed queer on the surface of it. But what of foreign-bornness and illiteracy? What would happen to the relationship if these factors were held constant? He therefore computed the second order partial correlation coefficient and found $r_{14 \cdot 23} = +.504$. This shows that the real relationship was obscured when two disturbing factors—foreign-bornness and illiteracy—were not held constant. By holding these two factors constant he obtained deeper insight into the causal factors of the problem. Ross's study meets the tests of random sampling better than many studies in which partial correlation technique is used, because we find that coeffi-

[16] School Attendance in 1920, United States Census Monograph Series (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), Appendix A, pp. 207-230.

TABLE II

CRITERIA OF EXPERIMENTAL METHOD APPLIED TO FOUR TYPE STUDIES

Study	1 Probable causal factors in situation X_2, X_3, X_4	2 Devices used to hold these factors constant	3 Variable factor to be measured X_1	4 Devices used to measure the variable factor	5 Results
I	1. Inciting stimulus 2. Diverting stimuli 3. Observer's interference 4. Weight 5. Height 6. ? 7. ?	1. One nonsocial toy at a time 2. Bare room 3. Observers concealed	Form of behavior in struggle situation for possession of the toy	1. Definition of behavior of 7 objective types 2. Stop watch by 5 seconds 3. Tests for reliability	1. Correlation of mean scores for possession of toy with weight $r=.69$ 2. With height $r=.77$
II	1. Size of class 2. Intelligence of students 3. Instruction 4. ? 5. ? 6. ? 7. ?	1. A large section of 56, a small section of 21 2. Percentile rank of freshman test 3. Same method instruction	Achievement	Final objective test	Slightly in favor of large class Large section 90.6 Small section 87.7
III	1. Number years secular education 2. Age 3. Distance from church 4. ? 5. ? 6. ?	1. Years 2. Age in years	Religious activity	Weights assigned to attendance on religious services	$r_{12}=+.438$ $r_{13}=-.468$ $r_{14}=+.086$ $r_{1\cdot 3}=+.543$
IV	1. Foreign-bornness 2. Illiteracy 3. Density of population 4. Tenancy 5 ? 6 ? 7 ?	1. Per cent foreign born 2. Per cent illiterate 21 and over 3. Density per square mile	School attendance	School attendance rate, 7 to 13 years of age	$r_{14}=+.092$ $r_{14\cdot 23}=+.504$ $r_{23}=+.847$ $r_{12}=-.838$ $r_{13}=-.783$

cients worked on the universe from which his sample was selected are closely similar to his.

This study may now be summarized by turning to Table II where the four types of variation in experimental control are compared. Number I is the Walker study, II is the Hudelson study, III is the Olson study, and IV is the Ross study. It will be observed that there are two main methods of obtaining controls.

The first method is that of direct control of the factors in the situation by manipulation of objects or persons present to sense perception. This is illustrated by the set-up of a laboratory situation (an artificial situation) as in the studies of Walker, Parten, Thomas, Anderson, and Sorokin. A variation of this method with the use of a subject group and a control group in which the individuals are paired or matched for certain attributes is used by Hudelson.

The second method is that of indirect control of the factors in a situation by manipulation of the symbols of the objects or persons not present to sense perception. This is illustrated by the sorting out of factors for analysis and comparison by minute subdivision as in the Olson study, or the partial correlation technique used by Ross.

Finally, a few words of caution should be said. It will be observed in column 1 of Table II that other causal factors may be present. It is possible that important causal factors may have been missed. Another limitation to the present techniques of experimental method is that the assumed constants may not be real constants. For example, the chronological age of 21 does not mean the same mental, moral, or economic age, and yet two persons of 21 are often regarded as of equal age. The third limitation is that the variable factor may not have been properly measured. Dorothy S. Thomas[17] has discussed this subject recently at some length. But in spite of these limitations the experimental method holds great promise for the sociologist.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 84, and "The Observability of Social Phenomena with Respect to Statistical Analysis," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXV (1931).

A PROJECT FOR A STUDY OF THE AREA OF SOCIAL CONTACTS

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

The project about to be described deals with the territorial distribution of social contacts.[1] Our primary interest in their relative territorial concentration or scatter. The investigation is still in the stage of preliminary experimentation with methods, and such results as appear are tentative, pending further research. If there is any justification for presenting so unripe a product, it is that a statement of our strategy and tactics may suggest methodological problems of some interest. Besides, since the present issue of the JOURNAL is to function as a kind of a clearing house of current research, the contribution of our program of research, even in the absence of conclusive results, may be in order.

We shall first consider briefly the theoretical setting of the study and then pass to the more specific problems of proposed methodology and research techniques. The tremendous extension of the area of social contacts of individuals and groups is one of the most spectacular and significant facts of social change in recent times. The change is due to the improvements in the means of transportation and communication. It may be more correct to say that the change was effected through the above named agencies, since the total explanation is to be sought in a whole complex of economic and social factors. The phenomenon has such far-reaching implications that the point of view of a brief discussion must of necessity be focused upon only some of the aspects of the total situation. One such focus may be the breakdown of the neighborhood in an urban environment.

It is a matter of common observation that the neighborhood of the great city is no longer the area of social inter-

[1] The study is carried on under the direction of Dorothy Swaine Thomas of Yale Institute of Human Relations.

course of its residence, no longer the "larger family" which it has been and still is to some extent in smaller communities. This primary group, with its intimate personal relationships and numerous common functions, has disintegrated so completely that, in some apartment or boarding-house areas of the city, the residents are not even acquainted with one another. Their associates are not their neighbors but individuals scattered throughout the city or a still wider area.

The most generally referred to effect of this change is what might be called the breakdown of provincialism. A wide scatter of contacts is likely to mean contacts with a variety of phenomena, standards, and values. It would thus tend to broaden the intellectual horizon, weaken dogmatism, favor skepticism, undermine implicit subordination to the traditional pattern of a single group, and individualize conduct to an extent. This individualization of conduct for good or evil will be due also to the absence of a strong pressure to conform to the mores of the group which any primary group exerts upon its members, supervising their lives continuously and directly at practically all points. "It is probably," to quote from Robert E. Park's article on "The City,"[2] "the breakdown of local attachments and the weakening of restraints and inhibitions of the primary group under the influences of the urban environment, which are largely responsible for the increase of vice and crime in great cities."

This is not to mean, of course, that city inhibitants are altogether free from social restraints, but merely that those, hitherto imposed by the neighborhood, are no longer effective. Other groupings replace the neighborhood in the life of the city dweller, each with its own institutions and codes. But these appear to touch the individual only at some definite points, centered as most of them are about specialized interests. The relation of the individual to these groups is frequently partial and impersonal and alto-

[2] *The American Journal of Sociology*, XX (July 1914-May 1915), pp. 593-609.

gether his position in the community more anonymous These groups have little claim upon the individual member outside their limited spheres of activity. Besides, their codes may actually be in some conflict with one another and with the codes of the family. All this operates, to repeat, to undermine the sway of custom, and allow wider scope for individualization. The evaluation of gains and losses consequent upon this process need not concern us here. Besides, we can only surmise at present what these may be. If there results a liberation of the individual from the rigidity of customary regulation, there may also result a complete disintegration of any socially desirable code of behavior. If there is a loss in intimacy and security of social relations, there may be a gain in selectivity. That is, relations are no longer thrust upon one by virtue of mere contiguity but may be more deliberately selective on the basis of the individual's interests.

The effects of the decentralization of contacts upon the development of social attitudes are, undoubtedly, very significant. It is sufficient to contrast a closely knit neighborhood "which involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression" with an apartment hotel or a boarding house to see that each would provide an extremely different milieu conditioning social attitudes. Is the city making for a more self-centered, individualized personality, more aloof, impersonal, superficial in social relations, less capable of a complete identification with a group? It may be, of course, that other agencies have taken over the functions performed by the neighborhood.

The breakdown of the neighborhood does not exhaust the sociological implications of the extension of the area of social contacts. A similar process can be observed on a larger scale. Just as the relative isolation of the neighborhood has been broken down so has, in a degree, the isolation of various social regions until the area of social contacts

of men, wherever they may be, bids fair to cover the world itself.

Some of the existing investigations approach the problem from the point of view of gross mobility or communication —usually in terms of increasing utilization of various means of communication and transportation. Others take a particular group or a culture area as the starting point, as, for example, the neighborhood or the village community.

The focus of this investigation is the individual and the immediate aim is to devise some measure of the extensiveness of his social contacts.

Up to the present, our study deals with only a segment of social contacts of the individual, such as are usually implied in the phrase "social intercourse." A complete account should include other categories of contacts, as, for example, those on the economic basis involved in work, shopping, etc. The term contact may be even extended still further to include more impersonal contacts with events and personalities through the press and the radio.

As indices of the territorial distribution of contacts we have selected the following: (1) residence (country, city, street, and number) of friends and acquaintances; (2) addresses involved in personal correspondence and out-of-town telephone calls for a specified unit of time; (3) residence of visitors and of persons visited by the informant; (4) location of public places visited, addresses of persons who have accompanied the informant to such; (5) organizations the informant belongs to with places of meetings and addresses of other members.

The method used at the outset of the study was the questionnaire method. The informant was asked to state as completely and accurately as possible the data in question for the past month. In addition to the above stated data, the questionnaire called for a residential history of the informant including, of course, his present address, addresses of all his relatives, information as to sex, marital status, age, nationality, occupation, and education. No names

whatsoever appear on the questionnaire. To ensure complete anonymity the informant was given the privilege of stating the addresses in terms of blocks without giving the exact street number. It may be that some clandestine relations or visits to socially disapproved places were not always recorded. But it is hardly probable that much information was deliberately withheld.

It will be readily observed that the questionnaire yields a quantitative estimate of the scatter of contacts in such terms as distance from residence in blocks or miles; proportion of total contacts in the same or adjacent neighborhood, city, state, or country as contrasted with the percentage in other cities, states, countries, than those in which the informant resides; total number of different addresses; total number of different cities, states, countries involved in visiting; correspondence, etc.

The questionnaire passed through several editions until it appeared to give unambiguous and objectively stated data.

We were, however, confronted with the problem of estimating the error involved in a retrospect statement. The unreliability of an account from memory may underestimate the total quantity of contacts and also distort their distribution.

The solution seemed to be in using a more refined if less generally applicable technique on a smaller scale and comparing it with the questionnaire. A wide difference of results obtained by the two methods would indicate the unreliability of the questionnaire and give us an estimate of the margin of error involved.

A group of adults, for whom we already had questionnaires, kept daily records of contacts for a period of two weeks. Estimating these in terms of a month, and comparing corresponding values, it appeared that the questionnaire gave a considerably smaller total *quantity* of visits, letters, etc., but a slightly higher territorial *scatter*. To illustrate, the mean number of letters of the daily records was 80 to 44 of the questionnaire; the mean number of

visits 52 to 41 of the questionnaire, mean number of visits to public places was 20 and 13. With regard to the scatter, however, the questionnaire gave slightly higher results—15 and 12 for the mean number of different addresses in visiting, 9.6 and 8 for the number of addresses in mail, 3.3 and 2.5 for total number of states in visiting, and so on. We anticipated a closer agreement on the scatter than on the quantity of contacts. But how to explain the slightly higher scatter of the questionnaire results? Is a two-week period too brief to reveal the full scatter of contacts? Are the differences due to the variability in the data from month to month?

To attempt a solution of these problems we have undertaken a study of the relative consistency of the occurrences in question from time to time. A group of thirty adults was secured to keep daily records of contacts for a period of four months. The results of this study analyzed by monthly and fortnightly periods will throw light on the above problem of methods and will direct our sampling procedure.

Parallel to these methodological studies we have carried on an investigation of a few New Haven groups. Admittedly inconclusive, open to criticism on the basis of imperfect sampling and small numbers, the results are, however, suggestive of the use to which we intended to put our tools and will be considered below.

Generally speaking, we intend to study the area of contacts from the point of view of its variation for various social groups and social regions. If one were brave enough to talk of causation instead of correlation, one might say "to study the causes and the effects of an extended or a limited area of contacts." The groups that were available for study and for which data have been collected include a women's "society" club, a local chapter of a well-known exclusive "society" organization, women stenographers and secretaries of Yale University, men students of engineering and commerce of a Young Men's Christian Association eve-

ning college, and various groups of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association of New Haven. It is obvious that (with the exception of the last named groups which will be considered below) these are not comparisons of nicely controlled situations throwing light on the significance of one or two factors. They are admittedly crude general comparisons between, however, fairly homogeneous and clearly defined groups. Let us consider two sets of results which show most striking differences. These are, as might be expected, the women's "society" club and the men students of the evening college.

The data are based upon questionnaires filled for one month. Only some items are considered in the following table.

TABLE I

WOMEN'S CLUB	STUDENTS OF THE Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE
Previous residential mobility of the informant	
Total number of states and countries in which the informant has resided for three or more months	
States	
Mode 3 states	1 state
Mean 2.9 states	1.5 states
Residence in one or more foreign countries for three or more months	
30 per cent of 26	.5 per cent of 67

Note: The changes of address of the students appear to be changes in *residence,* while for the club, changes of address appear to be temporary visits, travel, years at college, with the permanent home address parallel to the others and, frequently, the last residence indicated.

Scatter of Friends	
Number of different states in which friends reside	
Range 2 to 10 states	1 to 8 states
Mode 5 states	1 state
Mean 2.6 states	1.6 states
Number of friends in one or more foreign countries	
35 per cent of 26	only one case in 67
Scatter of Visits	
Total number of states in visiting	
Range 1 to 8 states	1 to 4 states
Mode 3 states	1 state
Mean 3 states	1.5 states

TABLE I (*continued*)

	WOMEN'S CLUB	STUDENTS OF THE Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE
	Number of Different Addresses in Visiting	
Range	1 to 30 addresses	1 to 26 addresses
Mean	14 addresses	7.5 addresses
	Scatter of the Mail	
	Total number of states and countries	
	States	
Range	1 to 8 states	1 to 8 states
Mode	4 states	2 states
Mean	4.1 states	2 states
	Correspondents in one or more foreign countries	
	38 per cent	11 per cent
	Total number of different addresses in correspondence	
Range	1 to 25 addresses	1 to 20 addresses
Mean	10 addresses	4.6 addresses
	Quantity of Visits	
Range	10 to 90 visits	0 to 94 visits
Mode	40-50 visits	(30-40) and (10-20) visits
Mean	41 visits	20 visits

Compare with the above the data on the women stenographers and secretaries of Yale University.

TABLE II

Total number of states and countries in which the informant resided for three or more months

States

Range	1 to 4 states
Mode	1 state
Mean	2.2 states

1 foreign country residence in 29 cases

Scatter of Friends

Range	1 to 9 states
Mode	4 states
Mean	4.5 states

2 cases of foreign residence in 29 cases

Scatter of Visits

Range	1 to 4 states
Mode	1 state
Mean	1.5 states

Number of Different Addresses in Visiting

Range	1 to 20 different addresses
Mode	5 to 10 different addresses
Mean	9 different addresses

TABLE II (*continued*)

Total number of states and countries in which the informant resided for three or more months

Scatter of Mail

Range	1 to 9	states
Mode	4	states
Mean	3.8	states

Number of Different Addresses in Mail

Range	1 to 20	addresses
Mode	(1 to 5 states) and (5 to 10	addresses)
Mean	7.5	addresses

Total Number of Visits

Range	1 to 40	visits
Mode	(10 to 20) and (20 to 30)	visits
Mean	18	visits

Total number of letters

Range	1 to 52	letters
Mode	10 to 15	letters
Mean	20	letters

The groups of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. were selected more deliberately to throw light on the sex factor in social contacts. We had the extraordinary fortune of finding two groups matched very closely for a number of characteristics, although somewhat limited in numbers. The two clubs are sister organizations made up of friends and relatives. Both men and women are Italian, single, about the same age group (men somewhat older, average age 25 and 21.4), all gainfully employed with a concentration in factory and skilled trades. It appears that the economic and social status is fairly uniform. The results, unfortunately, are not as yet available. It will be of interest to find out what differences would appear in the quantity, pattern, and scatter of contacts between young men and women. A generation or so ago young men had far more opportunity and freedom for greater mobility and a wider radius of contacts. If this were found to be true at present, it would be interesting to speculate upon its possible relation to such alleged sex differences as greater conventionality or narrow-mindedness of women. Incidentally, this matter is an illustration of

circular causation which is so frequent in social life. The mores limiting woman's freedom to "roam about," narrow her area of contacts, which in turn, contributes to her conventionality and perpetuation of these mores. The problem, of course, requires a more refined formulation. It is probable that women of upper and middle classes not gainfully employed would give a higher quantity and wider range of contacts than the corresponding group of men for the reason that cultivation of contacts is, perhaps, their major pursuit. We must remember that our method taps only a certain kind of contact. Contacts in the economic sphere would certainly have to be included for any such comparisons as the above. Even if, however, no significant differences would appear between men and women when other factors were held constant, there still may be differences in the population at large because of the different incidence of these factors in the total population of men and women.

The priority of the study of the sex factor is due to the availability of the data and is not reflecting our view of its relative importance. The factor that, a priori, appears to be of much greater significance is the economic factor, especially as it affects mobility. Unfortunately, our indices of the scatter of contacts cannot be applied to a number of extremely mobile groups, as drifting unskilled labor, the sailor, the hobo, and others. On the whole, however, it would seem that the higher the economic level the greater the scatter as gauged by our indices. The worker has neither the means nor the leisure for travel or maintenance of active relations with widely scattered individuals. Take as an extreme case a wealthy business man, whose wife may purchase her clothes in Paris, who lives miles away from his place of work, with a summer residence in a different part of the country if not in a foreign country, etc., etc. A series of projected studies of various economic and occupational groups ought to reveal interesting facts. Other factors, the

importance of which it is intended to test, are marital status, age, nationality.

In addition to the above named studies we intend to approach the problem from the point of view of various social regions—cities and towns of various sizes and types (as a suburban community, for example). These studies may emphasize the intercommunity distribution of contacts and throw light on the different status of the neighborhood under various conditions.

A few words, in conclusion, with regard to the interpretation of results. Explanation may be nothing else but accurate and complete description but the kind of description that the projects outlined above can be expected to produce will be but the first step towards the understanding of our problem. The various differentials and uniformities that will be established will require interpretation. In many cases the validity of plausible interpretations will have to be tested by appropriate new studies. In other words, we will have to face the questions of "why?" and "what of it?" Let us take as an illustration the table cited on page 558. The club members have a very much wider area of contacts, as shown by every one of our indices, than the students. But it would be hazardous to draw any conclusions from this fact alone. After all, the wide area of contacts has the significance ascribed to it in the introduction only if it means diversification of contacts as well. Because of a certain exclusiveness the contacts of the club members, though wide in area, may be very limited in kind. A group with a radius of a metropolitan area may actually have much more diversified associations. But no investigator who ever tackled a significant sociological problem will find these difficulties exceptional. Exasperating and discouraging as they may be at times—they are a challenge to the social scientist.

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

There was not much coöperative research in the social-science fields on the Pacific Coast before 1923. In that year, however, culture conflicts between Orientals and Americans reached a climax of intensity up and down the Coast. It was this conflict that gave the social setting for an extensive piece of coöperative research.

The invasion of the Japanese had aroused an increasing degree of unfavorable reactions towards them. While a number of Americans were openly expressing their prejudice against the Orientals, there were other Americans who felt that the Japanese were being unjustifiably insulted. While these "fair-play" Americans did not want the Pacific Coast "to be overrun by the Japanese," they felt that there was a better method of solving the problem than by heaping abuse upon the newcomers. They sensed their helplessness in the face of a rising tide of antagonism to the Japanese; and so urged that an investigation of the problem be made feeling that a scientific inquiry would undermine much of the unfair tactics of those opposed to the Japanese.

The "fair-play" group[1] succeeded in enlisting the interest of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City. In consequence Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago appeared on the Pacific Coast as the research representative of the Institute and as the informal generalissimo of a race relations survey.

The "fair-play" Americans, however, were hardly prepared for Dr. Park's methods of research. They wanted extensive publicity; they planned to advertise the survey widely. In this way they hoped to enlist the interest and help, financial and otherwise, of large numbers of people, but this was not the kind of "coöperative research" that

[1] Of whom Mr. J. Merle Davis of the Young Men's Christian Association and Institute of Pacific Relations fame was a prominent leader.

the director, Dr. Park, had in mind. A reform movement had been desired, but the director was interested first of all in a scientific analysis of the total social or racial situation.

The director of the survey came quietly, moved up and down the Coast without any public announcement, and inaugurated a thoroughgoing piece of coöperative research. He went to the colleges and universities from Vancouver to San Diego. He sought out those who were interested in social research, and without building any formal organization, and without publicity, he united the research workers in a genuine and real coöperative movement. He developed an unassuming, but dynamic enthusiasm by getting each social research person whom he could find to work each in his own best way in the coöperative enterprise. He came, discovered what each research person was most interested in as far as the racial problem in hand was concerned, and suggested what he might do. He came, saw, and started each person at work coöperatively. He told each what the others were doing and thus, without starting any formal contest, awakened constructive competition. As each learned how the others were working, what techniques the others were developing, his own initiative was stimulated and his efforts redoubled. College professors in the Coast institutions developed a new zest, their classes received new ideas, and their graduate students started new research studies that were related to the general scheme.

No special salaries or large funds were available, but participation in this informal and coöperative research more than repaid the professors and their advanced students for their time and effort. Here and there a special investigator for a short time or in a part-time capacity was employed to gather data that the regular research workers did not have the time to gather or could not travel far enough to secure. Lack of adequate funds was serious but not fatal.

In this coöperative research two procedures were followed: (1) collecting and analyzing statistics and (2) in-

terviewing and case analysis. The gathering of data for statistical purposes had a twofold angle. The first was the securing of materials already available in various places, such as census documents, federal, State, and local departmental reports, including annual reports from public-welfare offices, courts, jails and prisons, probation offices, health offices; private agency reports, such as those of settlements, of the Y. M. C. A. and similar organizations, the Big Brothers, and farmers' organizations. It is amazing how much material is hidden away in a hundred places regarding a single social problem. Some of it is inaccurate or incomplete, but it is all indicative; some of it is out-of-date, but valuable for comparative and historical purposes. Much of it is hard to interpret, but an expert statistician can do wonders with it without doing violence to it. The transforming of it into charts and graphs is no small trick, but again an expert can make dry statistics throb with life. Blue prints of many of the charts and graphs were made in the Pacific Race Relations Survey, and distributed to all the main university centers of research.

The other angle to the statistician's work is that of gathering new data, current data, and data to fill in the chinks in the statistics derived from public and private reports. In the race relations survey, this work was parcelled out to those best fitted and most interested. Wherever feasible the gathering of new statistical data may be assigned to statistical experts in public offices. Their work is often flexible enough to allow them to undertake as a regular part of their work the gathering of data needed in a private research undertaking.

The second main research procedure was the gathering and analyzing of case materials. These data did not come from case work or family-welfare agencies but rather from new and independent sources. Materials were gathered by interviews and life-history guides.[2] Life histories of im-

[2] A life-history guide is different from a questionnaire in that it is to be kept by the research person and not given out to the interviewee. It contains a set of suggestions to be followed by the interviewer, not rigidly, but as a guide to making the interview as thoroughly as possible.

migrants proved to be the salvation of the race relations survey. A small number of copies of the life-history documents was made and distributed to the main coöperating universities, where they were placed in reference libraries and kept for special reference and confidential use only. The life histories gave life to statistical reports; they furnished meanings for those statistics that otherwise would have remained meaningless. They revealed heart yearnings, complexes, harsh experiences, prejudices. They furnished valuable "leads" to additional statistical and case materials.

One of the chief values of this coöperative research project was the new momentum that graduate work in all the participating institutions received. Each of the given research projects was seen not as an isolated undertaking but as a part of a larger whole. Each was seen as a part of a research attack that was being carried forward on several fronts simultaneously. Each loomed up as a part of an analysis of a gigantic and everchanging Pacific Coast social situation: Each had possibilities of making at least a slight contribution to an understanding of a never-ending social process. Each, if pieced together with all the others, might reveal hidden meanings of the constantly changing human relationships on the Coast.

Out of this coöperative research there developed what has been called the social-research clinic. The clinic is not primarily a place where finished seminar reports are given, although it may become a superseminar. It has novel functions. A graduate student works on his research problem until he is at loss how to proceed. Perhaps even the professor under whom he is working is baffled. Thereupon he brings his dilemma before the clinic. The other research persons, graduate students and faculty alike, gather about informally and in the rôle of "doctors" make diagnoses and arrive if possible at a consensus of opinion regarding procedure. Sometimes the student has mapped out his procedure involving considerable time, money, and work. He brings these plans before the clinic in order to test them

out, to find out their weak spots, to perfect them in every possible way, before launching upon an expensive undertaking.

The superseminar character of the clinic is also most valuable, for at intervals the research representatives of more than one academic department may come together for discussion of a coöperatively planned research problem. The social research clinic is occasionally visited by graduate students or faculty representatives from outside the traditional social-science field.

The retroactive effects of coöperative research are most noticeable. Each research worker tries to be intelligible to the others in related fields. Each may be skeptical of the work of the others. Each fails at one or more points to take the others as seriously as they take themselves. Each occasionally goes beyond the depth of the others. Instead of a graduate student working under the direction of one professor, the clinic enables him to work in coöperation with many professors and graduate colleagues. The clinic even sets the professors on their toes in friendly and constructive competition. Each participant in the clinic is forced to devise new techniques and to stretch himself up to his full research height.

The coöperative race relations survey on the Coast demonstrated the superiority of the new research methods over the traditional survey methods, although the title of "survey" was assumed at the beginning for conventional reasons and in order not to seem to promise too much. In order to remain objective, survey methods have been content to collect and classify overt facts, but the new social research has undertaken the tabooed procedure of penetrating hidden subjective fields of experiences and the resultant attitudes and has attempted to make these attitudes objective and measurable.

Coöperative research on the Coast has commandeered the social-welfare agencies. In being asked for access to their records, they have been stimulated to improve their

be described in more detail. Briefly, the aim of these studies is to establish norms of family structure, relationships, behavior, and vital processes among various classes and groups of the New Haven population. These data on families should:

1. Serve as a base for the determination of differential rates among various age, nationality, regional, and economic groups.

2. Be of assistance to persons undertaking new research projects for selecting families which are representative of the entire population, or for finding "control groups" with which to pair families being studied.

3. Throw light on "normal" family structure and behavior so that it will be possible to place any given case with reference to the group to which it belongs. Norms on the incidence of group leadership, mobility, wage earners, children, marriages, divorce, etc., among certain economic, regional, and nationality goups should establish a point of reference for case studies of socially unadjusted families.

4. Provide various economic and social indices which will be short-cut methods of selecting significant elements in family composition and behavior. The extent to which occupations, residential mobility, nationality, etc., are indicative of other factors may be determined through the intercorrelation of different types of data.

With these aims in mind, it seemed advisable to decide upon a unit of investigation, both for the population and for its geographical distribution. In view of the influential rôle played by the family upon the health, mental and social behavior of the individual, most scientific investigators have come to realize that individuals should be studied in relation to the setting which determines and modifies their behavior. In social investigations the individual is seldom studied without reference to the social milieu in which he lives. His behavior cannot be interpreted or controlled unless his family and neighborhood group are taken into consideration. Furthermore, many assumptions are made

about the composition of the family but most general statistics of population are in terms of the individual and comparatively little is known about the average family or families. The average family obtained by statistical manipulation of the figures of individuals consists of two adults and three children. More critical studies have revealed the fallacy and inadequacy of this mean as a norm. Reference will be made to the New Haven findings subsequently. In view of the inadequacy of available family data and of the recognized need for descriptions of the general run of families, the unit of population investigation, classification, and analysis decided upon was the family.

In order to throw light on neighborhood influences, the geographic distribution of families had to be expressed in constant terms. The units decided upon were the block and the census enumeration district. The United States Federal Census gives the most detailed statistics which have been assembled regarding all the New Haven families. In 1920, the form, or summarizing sheet, grouped the families into 104 enumeration districts, the area usually canvassed by a single census investigator. The advantage of using the enumeration district as the basic geographical unit lay in the fact that both the 1920 and the 1930 census material could be obtained for those districts. (This will provide the basis for studies of change in the population of various sections of the city.) The enumeration districts present a further advantage in that they may be subdivided into blocks which have already been numbered by the census geographer, or the districts may be combined to fit into the 33 city wards without much overlapping. This makes it possible to use data which are available for wards only, and to relate them to the census material. Family data are collected and located by blocks, if possible, because no enumeration district is as homogeneous in as many respects as are the blocks within that district. In population den-

sity computations, the number of acres covered by each district are taken into consideration in order to make the areas comparable.

As stated above, the background studies have been approached from several angles, such as demographic, regional, and case investigations. The basic population data have been obtained from two main sources, the United States Bureau of the Census and a New Haven public-utility company.

Unfortunately, all published tabulations of the United States Census are made in terms of individuals, even though the information is collected and summarized by families. For this reason, it was necessary to procure a special retabulation of the New Haven material for the background studies. The number of families possessing certain characteristics were counted for each enumeration district and combinations of these family relationships were tabulated for the city as a whole. Such a family tabulation had not been attempted before; therefore, the extent to which the tables might show significant relationships were not to be gauged in advance. Little was known about the range of variation which existed with reference to the various traits, or to the incidence of certain characteristics in the general family population. The desirability of eliminating several tabulations and of going into more detail with other tables had been revealed in this "ground-breaking" investigation.

The following tabulations were made for each enumeration district:

1. *Number of each type of family.* (The family is defined as a group of related individuals living together at the home investigated.) The percentage each type formed

TABLE I

PER CENT OF EACH TYPE OF FAMILY

Type of Family	Percentage of total families
Husband and wife	15.1
Husband, wife, and children	41.4

PER CENT OF EACH TYPE OF FAMILY

Type of family	Percentage of total families
Man and children	.7
Woman and children	2.3
Husband, wife, and relatives	7.5
Husband, wife, children, and relatives	15.3
Man alone	1.7
Woman alone	3.1
Man or woman and relatives	7.7
Man, children, and relatives	1.1
Woman, children, and relatives	3.0
Unrelated	.6

of the total families in New Haven is indicated in the right-hand column of the above table. While the family composed of a husband, wife, and children is the most prevalent, it includes only 41 per cent of the families.

2. *Number of families having children under five years, ten years, and twenty-one years along with the number of such children.* Table II shows the number of children under 21 years of age in families of husband, wife, and chil-

TABLE II

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

Children per family in husband-wife-children family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Percentage of families	29	26	17	11	7	4	3	1	.9

dren. Table II shows that the most frequent type is the one-child family. On the other hand, the mean number of children is 2.74 per family. This approximates the "statistically normal" family of three children which was referred to earlier in this article. The mode conforms more closely to reality than does this mean.

3. *Age of oldest child in the family.* This information was grouped into the following classes: under 6 years, 6 to 13, 14 and 15, and 16 to 20 years, inclusive. This particular classification was used to make the age grouping comparable to that collected in other States. It was thought that these data ought to be significant when related to the gainful employment of the mother and of the children.

4. *Number and relationship of gainful workers in the family.* This information was tabulated because it was

thought desirable to know who the wage earners were in families of various types. To what extent do women without children work as compared to women with children? Questions such as this one will be answered for New Haven families when the analysis of these census tables has been made.

5. *Number of persons in the family.* The numbers of persons in the family, from one to twelve members, were arranged in a table. The criterion of the term "family," which was used, excluded unrelated individuals living under the same roof, such as boarders and lodgers. The latter were included under "household." Preliminary analysis of this data showed that the most numerous families were composed of two and three persons. The proportion of families of each number is shown in Table III.

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF VARIOUS SIZED FAMILIES

Persons in family.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12+
Percentage of families...	3.	18.	20.	19.	14.	10.	7.	4.	2.	1.	.78	1.

6. *Number of persons in the household.* A further tabulation of the number of persons in the household showed the three-person household to be most prevalent.

7. *Tenure of home of the families.* The tenure of home of the families was grouped as: rented, owned free of mortgage, owned mortgaged, owned mortgage status not reported, tenure unknown. This material was secured for the enumeration districts and was to be used in developing economic indices for the various areas of the city.

8. *Man at head of family.* For the man at the head of the family, more detailed information such as color, nativity, age, marital status, country of birth, and occupation was obtained. The information on country of birth was arranged into twelve classes based upon the knowledge which already existed regarding the predominant nationalities of adult individuals in New Haven. The grouping of occupations utilized was a slight variation of the Note-

stein[2] classification which is primarily an occupational rather than an industrial grouping. The regular census classification is unsatisfactory as it does not differentiate between various occupational levels within industry, and when it does so, the number of occupations extends into the hundreds. The Notestein grouping was modified to fit the New Haven situation where certain types of positions, such as college professor, occur more frequently than in the country as a whole. Such occupations were placed in separate categories.

9. *Homemaker or woman at head of family.* The same types of data as above were obtained for the homemaker. In addition, a notation was made to indicate whether or not the homemaker was presumably the mother of the children. The analysis of this material has not yet been made.

The possible combinations of these tables are very numerous; so to begin with, only relationships which, a priori, seemed to be significant were tabulated. The mass of material supplied should be valuable for demographic studies of various nationality, occupational, and age groups. At the present time, however, these census data are of most importance to the regional studies which will be described next.

The investigation of the geographical distribution of various types of families developed into the regional studies.[3] These analyses grouped families into various economic areas, districts characterized by social dependency, social forces and leadership, certain nationality and age groupings, and areas of stability and instability.

Data for the economic characterization of districts were obtained from several sources, the most extensive being a rent survey conducted by the Southern New England Telephone Company in 1925. The investigation consisted in

[2]F. W. Notestein and E. Sydenstricker, "Differential Fertility According to Social Class," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XV (March 1930), pp. 9-33.

[3]Since considerable material was being assembled for families at certain addresses, a necessary step in the analysis seemed to be the classification of these addresses into blocks and districts. For this purpose, a street directory was devised which classified every address in the city into the appropriate enumeration district and block number.

a house-to-house canvass, in which the amount of rent paid and telephone subscription were determined. This material which is classified by blocks provides the most complete economic data of the background studies. When the 1930 census material on rents for districts can be secured, it will be possible to study neighborhood changes of rent which have taken place during the intervening five years.

An interesting analysis of the relationship between telephone subscription and rent of districts was made. The correlation between the average rent of the enumeration districts and the percentage of families subscribing to telephones was found to be $.93 \pm .01$. This correlation was obtained for several subsamples as well; so that it might be concluded that the proportion of telephone subscribers is a reliable economic index of a district.

Another approach to the study of economic areas is the study of the incidence of social dependency in enumeration districts. The distribution of various social problem cases such as the unemployed, the delinquents, the deserters, the indigent poor, etc., will be included in this analysis.

At the other economic level will be found the leaders of industry, education, city government, and clubs. Addresses of directors of corporations, individuals appearing in Who's Who, school teachers, college faculty, officers of the city government, and leaders of social organizations will be located on the New Haven map, and regional comparisons made.

Reference has already been made to the census material which is grouped into enumeration districts. The nationality and age groupings should be especially valuable for the determination of differential rates of vital processes in districts. Birth, death, marriage, and divorce rates will be computed and plotted for each section of the city, so that relationships between these and other regional factors may be brought to light.

A further most important investigation, closely related to both the population and the regional studies, is the study

of mobility within the city. Through splendid coöperation, the records of a public-utility company of New Haven were made accessible to us. The firm keeps a record of every change of address of its patrons. The files include a record of over 95 per cent of the families in the city. We were permitted to copy the following information for each residence: name and occupation of the head of the family, address, whether apartment or residence, and dates of residence. The occupation was filled in by the applicant for the service, so the information was not adequate in all cases. Successive residences of each family were filed together so that it would be possible to trace the relationship of movements.

Because of the arrangement of the files of the utility company, it seemed advisable to limit the study to changes in residence after 1924. Families who lived at their present address in 1923, and who had not moved since 1924, were also included. The records of this group of about 7,000 families were filed separately, and labeled "permanent residents." Altogether there will be approximately 75,000 residences recorded.

The analyses of these records are of particular interest for both the family population and the regional studies. It is expected that the family mobility studies which are now being carried on will yield mobility norms for families from various sections of the city. The average lengths of residence will be known for various nationality, occupational, and rent groups. From a sample of 1800 families, selected at random, the number of residences per family since 1924 was ascertained. This was found to range from one residence for the majority of the families to seven residences for a few families. When the mobility of the entire city is analyzed, these studies will be reported in more detail.

The regional studies of these residences will supply mobility data which can be correlated with other material. Areas in which the "permanent residents" are located can

be compared with those in which there is greatest movement. Rate of turnover of family population can be computed for each district, and will show the number of families moving in, moving out, and remaining in the district. Average length of residence per district and per block will be compared with other regional data. From analysis of these data, information will be available about districts "to which" and "from which" there is movement. Families will be traced to determine the geographical proximity of successive residents. These data are particularly valuable to individuals planning neighborhood or community activities. The study of a small sample of five hundred families revealed that 18 per cent of the changes in residence were in the same building or in the same block as before the move, and approximately two thirds of the changes were in the same neighborhood; *i.e.*, not more than one district removed.

In addition to the population, regional, and mobility analyses, the Social Background Studies include a series of detailed family investigations known as the "sample family studies." These studies are based upon a sample of approximately 3,000 New Haven families, selected at random. Their residence cards are kept in a separate file and any information about any member is placed in the family folder. In this way, it is hoped to compile as complete case histories as is possible about these families, which in turn are presumably representative of the total New Haven population. Several checks on the representativeness of the sample will be possible when the Hollerith study of mobility of all families within the city has been completed, since the mobility of this group is already known.

According to the present plans for the study of these sample families, all data about them will be procured from secondary sources, and much of it from investigations conducted through various projects of the Institute of Human Relations. The background studies are in a particularly advantageous position for assembling data on New Haven

as the records from all social-science research of the Institute become a part of its files as soon as the projects are completed. Furthermore, it is possible to clear the sample families with all current research at the Institute, and in this way, add considerable information about the health, mental, and social status of the family members.

Because of the multiplicity of sources of information about the same families, it will be possible to check the reliability and consistency of sources. Checks on the city directory have been made already. Thus far, it has been possible to locate over 90 per cent of the families who have moved in the city since 1924; while 100 per cent of those who have lived at their present address since 1924 are listed in the directory. Of course, this completeness may not hold for all cities in the United States; but this finding should be reassuring to those who find it convenient to use that source for selecting population samples.

In view of the unfinished stage of these Studies, a very cursory survey of the analyses under way has been presented. Much of the material will serve largely for reference purposes, as a population base for the various projects of the Institute, while other data will be collected and analyzed with reference to the solution of certain problems.

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

JOHN K. NORTON

The National Education Association is the national professional organization of teachers. It serves teachers as the American Bar Association serves lawyers and the American Medical Association serves physicians. The N. E.A., as it is commonly called, consists of the parent organization and of some twenty departments representative of such groups as superintendents of schools, school principals, directors and supervisors of instruction, and classroom teachers. The parent organization is governed by a national representative assembly of approximately 1,200 delegates, which meets annually, and by various smaller governing boards. The departments of the organization are separately financed, have their own officers, and determine their own policies. The Association proper and its various departments work through a number of committees appointed for a variety of purposes. The N. E. A. aims to be an all-inclusive organization representative of all educational interests. While representing the teaching profession as a unit, it also offers adequate opportunty for the exercise of autonomy and initiative on the part of the various specialized groups which compose the profession. The Association and its departments have a yearly income of well over a half million dollars, practically all of which is obtained from annual membership dues.

An extensive program of activities is maintained by the Association. It publishes the *Journal*, the *Annual Volume of Addresses and Proceedings*, the *Research Bulletin*, and a long list of committee reports, and departmental yearbooks and bulletins. It organizes two national conventions annually which are attended by from ten to fifteen thousand people representative of practically every educational in-

terest in the nation. It also has a legislative and publicity program.

The work of the Association is performed by a headquarters staff of approximately 150 employees housed in a seven-story office building located in Washington, D. C.

ESTABLISHMENT OF RESEARCH DIVISION

The Research Division is one of the nine sections comprising the headquarters office.

This Division was established in 1922 and commissioned to assemble factual information needed by the Association in shaping its policies and in exercising its function as the spearhead of educational advance.

Those familiar with educational history in recent decades need not be told that pooled experience and tested knowledge are rapidly replacing individual opinion and prejudice as guides to educational progress. The establishment of the Research Division and its rapid development is a concrete recognition of this tendency by the teaching profession as a whole.

The research staff. The Research Division now employs a personnel of thirty persons. The director of research, in charge of the Division, is responsible to the executive secretary and the officers of the Association. Sharing the supervision of the Division's work is an associate director and three assistant directors. In addition, there are a number of research assistants and clerical workers. The research assistants assemble and organize bibliographies, trace down needed statistical and similar basic material, and under the guidance of the directors conduct some of the Division's investigations.

In addition to a special educational library which provides library service for the whole headquarters, the Research Division also includes correspondence and statistical units trained to aid in the assemblage, organization, and publication of educational data.

The research program. The chief function of the Research Division is to collect, organize, and distribute factual material on educational problems.

The investigational program of the Division has been broad rather than narrow, covering subjects of the widest educational significance as well as those more directly concerned with the advancement of teaching as a profession.

In coöperation with the committees of the Department of Superintendence, the Division has prepared a series of publications bearing upon the reconstruction of the curriculum from the kindergarten through the college. These publications, presenting material based both on best practice and experimental investigation, have done much to advance the whole curriculum-revision movement of the last decade.

The Division has also conducted a number of studies in the field of State educational administration. With the assistance of the State departments of education as well as the State education associations, the Division periodically anticipates the principal problems of State educational administration and legislation. Its investigation then seeks to assemble the results of best practice and scientific research in such form that they will be of practical value in dealing with these questions.

The problems of school principals have been the basis of a series of publications prepared in coöperation with the Department of Elementary School Principals. These studies have been widely used by principals in reorganizing their schools according to modern standards.

The problems of the teaching profession have been dealt with from a number of angles. The Division is the principal storehouse of theoretical and factual material concerning teachers' salaries. The material issued on salary scheduling has done much to advance the development of sound principles and policies affecting the financial compensation of teachers. The trend from the old piecemeal method of paying teachers, in which political and various fortuitous

factors were the determinants, to the principle of long-time planning is to be partly traced to the Division's activities in this field. A well-known economist recently listed the work of the National Education Association as one of the three major factors responsible for the relatively large gain in the real earnings of teachers in the last decade. The Division is at present coöperating with the teacher-training survey of the United States Office of Education in a national survey of the teacher supply and demand situation.

In achieving its objectives, the Division makes use of three principal means of service: publications, correspondence, and consultation.

The chief publication is the *Research Bulletin* issued five times each year. At present 100,000 copies of this bulletin are distributed annually. The publication, leaflets, and articles published in various educational periodicals serve to disseminate the results of the Division's work. The titles of certain issues of the *Research Bulletin* will serve to illustrate the breadth of the Division's investigational activities:

1. Vitalizing the High-School Curriculum
2. The Scheduling of Teachers' Salaries
3. A Self-Survey Plan for State School Systems
4. Investing in Public Education
5. Current Issues in Teacher Retirement
6. The Principal at Work on His Problems

Correspondence is the second means whereby the Division achieves its purpose. In a typical year some 10,000 letters are written in response to requests for factual information by all types of members of the Association from kindergarten teachers to State school superintendents and college presidents. These inquiries not only offer a means of marketing the results of research, but also constitute a practical guide to the educational problems which are in greatest need of investigation.

The third channel of service involves consultative and editorial arrangements between the Division and the va-

rious committees and departments of the National Education Association. Major responsibilities involving research and guidance of research efforts have been recently exercised with the following:

1. Committee on Retirement Allowances
2. Curriculum and Articulation Commissions of the Department of Superintendence
3. Committee on Propaganda in the Schools
4. National Council of Education
5. Yearbook Committee of Department of Elementary School Principals
6. Yearbook Committee of the Department of Classroom Teachers
7. Committee on the Economic Status of Teachers
8. The American Educational Research Association

The establishment of the Research Division is a concrete illustration of the growing desire of the teaching profession to build its procedures in educating children upon the results of scientific inquiry. In the further advancement of this tendency the Division finds its opportunity for present and future service.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

In its program of studies, the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York stresses fact finding as distinguished from what is often referred to as pure research. This is a poor antithesis. It implies that fact finding is impure or somehow spurious.

It may clarify this distinction to think of the fact-finding type of inquiry and study as that which puts us in possession of accurate data relating to matters which are changing and changeable in their nature. Pure research aims at data on the "immutable laws of nature" conceived as the very essence of truth, which, once discovered, remains stationary for a while at least. Fact finding is highly utilitarian and because the facts with which it deals are mutable, must go on continuously. Pure research can—and should —scorn immediate utility. It starts and stops as those who carry it on, or those who support it, choose. In the field of the social sciences it would seem that a vast amount of very good fact finding will be necessary before we shall be able to distill very much essential truth regarding the workings of society.

The Council's research program was chartered in 1925 by the report of the Coördination Committee. In that document, prepared by W. Frank Persons, it was laid down as part of the coördination procedure that the Welfare Council should have a Research Bureau to serve as an aid to the realization of the objectives of the Welfare Council which were listed as (1) securing better factual basis for community planning, (2) better teamwork among social agencies, (3) better standards of social work, (4) better public understanding of social work, (5) better support of social work. It was specifically recommended that the Council should set up a Research Bureau which would answer such

questions as: Does social service now seriously overlap? Are important needs overlooked? Are there agencies no longer necessary or effective? Are standards of social work satisfactory? Is preventive work properly emphasized? Is there well-proportioned extension of social service? Is social service being wisely planned?[1]

In the late spring of 1927 this Research Bureau came into existence and there was thus created a research body hitched to a concern which has now federated 900 social agencies, which has a responsibility for coöperative planning, and which has a staff to carry on the conference, coördination, and promotion processes growing out of studies.

This original mandate served to guide the Research Bureau's program until 1930 when a joint committee of the Research and Executive Committees of the Welfare Council reviewed progress to date and laid down in a preliminary way some further principles for the guidance of the program for the next few years.

After nearly four years of operation the work schedule of the Bureau stands as follows:

Studies Completed or under Way as of February, 1931

Published

Welfare Problems in New York City, which have been studied and reported upon during the period from 1915 through 1925, by Shelby M. Harrison and Allen Eaton. 1926.[2]

Classification of Social Agencies by Function in the City of New York, by Edith Shatto King, assisted by Augusta Frear. 1926.[2]

Where to Turn for Help. A study of services for directing persons in need to social agencies, and of the experience of 1,766 individuals in search of assistance, by Kathryn Farra. Out of print.

Aged Dependents Cared for Outside of Institutions by Private Agencies in New York City. Published in *The American Labor Legislation Review* in June 1929. A census of women sixty and over and men sixty-five and over receiving relief from family-welfare societies, relief societies, and some churches during the year 1927. Contains information on age distribution, race, and nativity, marital condition, occupations, employment, etc.

[1]The Welfare Council of New York City, a report by W. Frank Persons to the Coördination Committee, New York City, August 1925.

[2]Published prior to the organization of the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council.

Correlation between Lodgings of Homeless Men and Employment in New York City. Published in the *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association for* 1928. Indicates the trend and fluctuations in the volume of lodgings provided since 1897 and correlates this with employment and business indexes.

A Health Inventory of New York City: A study of the volume and distribution of health service in the five boroughs, by Michael M. Davis and Mary C. Jarrett. Analyzes the health problems and the volume of service rendered in the following fields: child hygiene: baby hygiene, preschool hygiene, school hygiene; maternity hygiene; tuberculosis control; venereal-disease control; dental hygiene; health examination; mental hygiene; control of heart diseases; cancer control; control of eye disorders; health education.

Seamen with Venereal Disease in the Port of New York: A coöperative study of social data for 961 seamen with venereal disease under treatment in two hospitals and a clinic of the United States Public Health Service. Also reviews the number of seamen in the port, the social resources serving their needs, labor organizations among seamen, welfare work by steamship companies, United States Government regulations for providing treatment for citizen and alien seamen, the provision of treatment by privately supported clinics, and other data. Published by United States Public Health Service, Document No. 1365.

A Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City: An index of the items of statistical information of the welfare of the people of New York City found in 355 books and publications, by Florence DuBois.

A Bibliography on the Employment Handicaps of Older Persons. Contains a listing and brief description of all of the recent books and articles on this subject published in English. Mimeographed.

A Brief Study of the Occupational Work for Older Persons in Homes for the Aged: Findings on 169 persons in seven homes. Contains a plan for a self-study by a home. Mimeographed.

Music in Thirty-Eight Settlements in New York City. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

The Visual Arts in New York Settlements. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

Boys' Athletics in 33 Settlements in the City of New York. Preprinted from the Welfare Council's Study of Settlements in New York City.

A Survey of Some Phases of Educational Work with Preschool Children in 11 Settlements in the City of New York. In course of publication.

Boys' Work in Brooklyn. A study of the recreational needs and preferences of 1,533 boys in three public schools in Brooklyn and a summary of the work for boys in that city. In course of publication.

Census of the Bowery, 1930. Under the title of "Real Truths about the Bowery Emerge from Census Analysis" in *Better Times*, November 1930.

Bibliography on Social Work Finance and Publicity. Mimeographed.

Manhattan House Numbers in Health Areas. A handbook showing the health areas in which every house number in Manhattan is found. In course of publication.

Reports Not Yet Published (Manuscripts may be consulted in the Research Bureau)

Income and expenditure Study

Financial Trends of Agencies Engaged in Giving Outdoor Relief in New York City

Trends in Organized Legal Aid in New York City

Trends in Settlements and Neighborhood Houses in New York City

Financial Trends of Protective and Correctional Agencies in New York City (including section on Probation)

Financial Trends in the Institutional Care of the Aged in New York City

Financial Trends in Child-Caring Agencies in New York City

Settlements Study

A Summary of the Activities, Membership, Personnel, and Expenditures of 80 Settlements in the City of New York

Clubs in 48 Settlements in the City of New York

a) Girls' Clubs and Boys' Clubs

b) Women's Clubs

Health Work in 30 Settlements in the City of New York

Personal Service in 42 Settlements in the City of New York

Membership of 18 Settlements in the City of New York

In-Town Summer Programs of 41 Settlements in the City of New York

Appraisal of the Magazines of 17 Settlements in New York City

Holiday Celebrations

The Teaching of English and Citizenship to the Foreign Born in 20 Settlements in the City of New York

Study of Chronic Illness

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Private Homes for the Aged in and near New York City

Preliminary Report on the Chronically Ill Persons Found by a Census in Private Homes for the Aged

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Municipal Institutions in New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Nursing Services in New York City

Preliminary Memorandum on the Care of the Chronic Sick by Family-Service Agencies of New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Convalescent Homes in and near New York City

Unemployment in New York City: An estimate of the number of unemployed persons in December 1930, and sources of information on unemployment in New York City

Studies in the Care of the Homeless

Homeless Clients of Fourteen Agencies in New York City in August 1926. An analysis of the social characteristics of 678 homeless men who applied to social agencies for aid.

The Use of the Municipal Lodging House by Residents and Non-residents in 1927: An analysis of 6,000 persons using the lodging house.

Impressions of the Bowery, by Nels Anderson. Mr. Anderson, who made extensive studies of homeless men, spent two weeks on the Bowery in the spring of 1928 observing the types of men there and trying to find out their attitudes towards efforts made in their behalf.

Indices of Social Conditions in New York City

Trends in the Public Care of Dependent Children in New York City, a statistical study of the changes in the number of children in institutions and boarding homes as public charges of New York City and in homes of their own mothers receiving aid from the Board of Child Welfare.

Study of the Financing of Social Work in New York: Reports on

United Hospital Fund

Charity Chest of the Fur Industry

Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies

Research Projects Under Way

Income and Expenditure Study covers the entire field of social work. Collection of data for all fields completed for 1910-1926, and about one half accomplished for 1927-1929. Final report in process.

Settlements' Study

Administration of the Settlement

Interpretation of the Settlement

Study of Chronic Illness

Preliminary Memorandum on the Care of the Chronic Sick by Nursing Services of New York City

Facilities for the Care of the Chronic Sick in Private Hospitals in New York City

Preliminary Report on the Chronically Ill Persons Found by a Census in Medical and Social Agencies in New York City

Indexes of Social Conditions in New York City: A search for a series of statistical data out of which to construct indexes of trends and fluctuations in dependency. Series of monthly data have been secured on:

1. Lodgings of homeless persons—some data as early as 1897. Analysis of relation to business indexes kept up-to-date
2. Almshouse population—data from 1849
3. Cases in public hospitals—some data from 1905

4. Cases in private hospitals for whom the City pays for care—data from 1918.

Monthly Statistics on the Volume of Service (details confidential) for:

1. Agencies caring for the homeless. Series began with March 1929, with 9 agencies (including 2 branches, Salvation Army) now reporting
2. Homes for the aged. Series began with May 1927, with 52 homes and 2 agencies caring for the aged now reporting
3. Family-service agencies. Series began with July 1928, with 9 agencies now reporting
4. Nonprofit-making employment bureaus. Series began with February 1928, with 36 agencies (including 7 branches, Y.M.C.A.; 7 branches Y.W.C.A.) now reporting
5. Room registries. Series began with April 1929, with 10 agencies (including 6 branches Y.W.C.A.) now reporting
6. Sheltered workshops. Series began with December 1928, with 15 agencies (including 3 branches, Salvation Army) now reporting

Work-Study of the Homeless. A study of the nature of the problems of destitute homeless men in New York City and of their social treatment (1) to find and test the possibilities of readjusting and stabilizing such of these men as appeal to social agencies; (2) to see at close range the nature of the service of the various agencies and their interrelationship; (3) to add to existing knowledge regarding the causes of the destitution found among these men.

Study of the Financing of Social Work in New York:

1. History and extent of financial federation—will include detailed studies of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Boston
2. Trends in giving
   Analysis of contributors' lists in New York
   Consolidated board member list
   Money raising by newspapers

Neighborhood Statistics: A study of data available for New York City neighborhoods; *i.e.*, the characteristics of population, social conditions, economic levels, and any other statistics significant in the comparison of needs of neighborhoods and in planning the distribution of social services.

House Numbers in Health Areas:

Brooklyn
Bronx
Queens
Richmond

A handbook showing the health area in which every house number in New York City is found.

Study of Delinquency in Selected Areas: A study of areas selected on the basis of racial and nationality groups in order to make

an appraisal of the validity of official statistics of juvenile delinquency as measures of neighborhood conditions and needs.

To those who think of such studies as highly individual enterprises, it may be of interest to see how they have been carried through on a coöperative basis.

The Research Committee of the Welfare Council, now composed of 20 men in close touch with most of the leading social-research organizations in New York City, has functioned faithfully since its organization in 1927.[1] There have been comparatively few changes of personnel, and the committee has lost no members through lack of interest. It meets once a month, except in the middle of the summer, at the Welfare Council's office. At these meetings, which occupy an evening through dinner, proposed projects are examined, the director's quarterly progress reports discussed, and the finished pieces of work reviewed. The findings of no study are released until they have gone through this mill.

In the early days of the committee some procedures were set up which have proved very valuable in achieving clarity and efficiency. One of these related to the responsibility which the Research Committee assumed towards the organization of the Bureau. It was decided early that the committee would direct its attention primarily to a scrutiny of the methods employed and results set forth in studies and leave administrative detail entirely to the staff of the Bureau which is directly responsible to the Council's Executive Committee and Board of Directors. While in the strictest sense the Research Committee has no literal power or authority over the staff—it selects no personnel, establishes no salary rates, and has nothing to do with hours, vacations, sick leave, arrangement of working schedules, and similar administrative matters—yet the weight of the Research

[1]The original membership consisted of: Porter R. Lee, chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, Robert E. Chaddock, Stanley P. Davies, Michael M. Davis, Godias J. Drolet, Louis I. Dublin, Haven Emerson, Homer Folks, C. Luther Fry, Samuel A. Goldsmith, Ralph G. Hurlin, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, Willford I. King, Philip Klein. Since 1927 the following members have been added: F. Stuart Chapin, Maurice J. Karpf, Harry L. Lurie, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, E. B. Patton, Stuart A. Rice, Arthur L. Swift, Jr., and Edgar Sydenstricker.

Committee's influence is stupendous with the staff, the Council's various officers, and the foundations which support the research program. These men constitute a sort of local research council which does not assume responsibility for the work of the Research Bureau but formulates opinions of the utmost value. When each piece of finished work comes before the committee, a final vote is taken as to whether it approves the job. The formula for approval has been phrased thus:

> Approval implies that the Committee considers that (a) the study has had expert consultation on subject matter, (b) method by which the study was carried out was sound, and (c) findings have been accurately stated and conclusions correctly drawn. It is recognized that every member of the Research Committee *will not be able to examine reports minutely* and that, therefore, subcommittees must be relied upon for these detailed examinations, and further that ultimate responsibility for accuracy of detail rests on the research worker who prepares the report.

Another useful decision reached after much consideration was that the Research Bureau reports, as such, should not as a usual procedure carry specific recommendations regarding the social work program in the city. As Professor Dewey has so pertinently remarked "The difference between facts which are what they are independent of human desire and endeavor and facts which are to some extent what they are because of human interest and purpose, and which alter with alteration in the latter, cannot be got rid of by any methodology."[2] The Research Bureau of the Welfare Council makes no effort to use facts to coerce belief or action. After the Research Bureau has set forth a statement of a social situation based on as complete data as it can secure and has drawn conclusions from them, those persons and agencies most concerned with the situation are asked to sit down together to digest the facts presented and to think through their implications in terms of practical action. As our work schedule indicates, reports are trans-

[2] John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York: Henry Holt and Company,

mitted to such committees and released to the public in sections as rapidly as these are completed so that readers have an opportunity to absorb the information in a fairly leisurely way and are not overwhelmed with a large and bulky report in a single dose. Committees are left free to draft such plans of procedure in the light of the facts as seem to them wise and expedient. The Research Bureau is free to publish any materials which it considers of general interest.

In the course of its work the Research Bureau has conceived it a part of its service to put at the disposal of others such tools as it has had to develop for its own use. The pamphlet "Welfare Problems in New York City" was a bibliography of local studies. The "Guide to Statistics of Social Welfare in New York City" indicates precisely the items of statistical information which can be secured on various subjects. Bibliographies with notes have been issued on employment handicaps of older persons and on social-work finance and publicity. The guides to the house numbers in health areas throughout the city are indispensable tools for the classification of data according to the standard population units. The Welfare Council hopes to promote the use of this classification by agencies, public and private, so that the Research Bureau will receive current reports which can be quickly and easily combined to give a total accounting on a given subject and for a given area.

That the research program might be built out of materials better understood at the outset, studies have been classified as belonging to the following types: (1) *inventories of social resources*, (2) *descriptions of social problems*, (3) *continuous measures of incidence of various forms of need*, (4) *demographic studies*, (5) *studies of method*, (6) *working demonstrations*, (7) *studies of social causation*. Since this outline was published in THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, vol. IV, no. 2, October 1930, and discussed in a paper at the International Conference

of Social Work in Paris in 1928 and at other conferences, space will not be consumed here in elaborating on it. It is sufficient to remark that embryonic as it seems, this little classification has served a useful purpose in helping us describe proposed projects and unify thinking about them.

BOOK REVIEWS

Methods in Social Science, by STUART A. RICE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931, xiii+822 pages.

This volume is a significant contribution to the literature on scientific method in the social sciences. It is edited by Stuart A. Rice and Harold D. Laswell, who acted as co-investigators for the Committee on Scientific Method of the Social Science Research Council. Several plans for the development of the volume were formulated and rejected during the several years that the project was before the Committee. The plan finally agreed upon was to appoint scholars to analyze the methods used in the production of over sixty major contributions in the social sciences, including the fields of anthropology, economics, history, human geography, politics and law, psychology, social psychology, sociology, and statistics. The notion of the 'case book' was evolved. It was conceived as an inductive study of methods *actually used* in significant contributions to social science. An advisory committee of three members from each of the various societies represented in the Social Science Research Council was appointed to choose what it considered the outstanding contributions in its field. A specialist in the field in which the contribution appeared was chosen in each case for its analysis. In a few cases, statements from the authors of the volumes analyzed were presented, giving an account of the methodological interests of the authors in question.

It is recognized in the present volume that method is regarded "as a term of variable meanings," although there is emphasized throughout the volume "that view of method which identifies it with the concepts and assumptions underlying scientific inquiry, and in terms of which the major aspects of the problem are formulated. "To recapitulate, instead of saying that the concepts and assumptions of an author *predetermine* his methods, they are regarded as *instruments* as well as *frameworks* of investigation." Actual conceptions of method necessarily had to be formulated in terms of the procedures used by the authors of the volumes analyzed. No attempt has been made by the editor to synthesize the interpretations of the individual analysts, or to draw conclusions from their findings with respect to the methodology of social science. If this task is attempted, it should form the subject of a separate volume. Professor Laswell presents a classification of methods on the basis of the analyses included, however, in one of the appendices. Classifications also appear in the appendices of methods in psychology, methods in economics, technical considerations

involved in agricultural economics, as well as a suggestive bibliography of books and articles of importance in sociological method and standpoint and a brief analysis of contributions of public administration to political science. The editor wrote the introduction which was concerned with definitions of method, classified the analyses by disciplines in the appendix, and wrote the "history and organization of the case book."

The divisions under which case analyses are presented in the volume include The Delimitation of Fields of Inquiry, The Definition of Objects of Investigation, The Establishment of Units and Scales, Attempts to Discover Spatial Distributions and Temporal Sequences, Interpretations of Change as a Developmental Stage, Interpretations of Relationship Among Unmeasured Factors, Attempts to Determine Relations Among Measured But Experimentally Uncontrolled Factors, and Attempts to Determine Quantitative Relations Among Measured and Experimentally Controlled Factors.

R. L. WHITLEY

Statistics in Social Studies, edited by STUART A. RICE. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930, xii+222 pages.

The volume contains a group of papers designed to exhibit the nature of the problems that are encountered when the methods of statistics are applied to social and sociological studies, assembled by the Committee *on Social Statistics of the American Statistical Association.*

> Differentiation in statistical methodology appears to depend upon the particular characteristics or needs of the subject matter to which it is applied, rather than upon essential dissimilarities of technique. Thus, there are textbooks in business statistics, in educational statistics, and in psychometrics. The concepts and technical methods employed in each are fundamentally similar. But no one has yet ventured to give to a book the title "sociological statistics," "social work statistics," "political statistics," or "anthropological statistics."

The papers, designed to display applications of statistical method to social data, are contributed by Rice (Historico-Statistical Approach to Social Studies); Ogburn (Statistical Studies of Marriage and the Family); Carter (Statistical Studies of Health and Medical Care); Hurlin (Statistical Studies of Dependency); Young (Statistical Studies of Race Relations); Gehlke (Statistical Studies of Crime and the Administration of Justice); Marshall (The Beginnings of Judicial Statistics); Gebhart (Prohibition: Statistical Studies of Enforcement and Social Effects); Feldman (Fallacies in Prohibition Statistics); Fisher (A Critical Examination of Certain Prohibition Statistics); Rice (Statis-

tical Studies of Social Attitudes and Public Opinion); Kirkpatrick (Statistical Studies of Personality and Personality Maladjustment).

The trend of research in sociology, anthropology, political science, and social work is in the direction already taken by research in economics, psychology, and education—in the direction of statistical analysis. Consequently, every person engaged in social research will find the volume timely and suggestive. HARVEY ZORBAUGH

Measurement in Social Work, by A. W. McMILLEN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, xv+154 pages.

One of the great difficulties in the way of the application of statistical method to social data lies in the lack of uniformity of the data prepared by various social agencies—particularly in the lack of uniformity in the definition of categories under which data are classified and in omissions due to disagreement as to what is significant. For the past year a Joint Committee composed of representatives of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Commitee of the University of Chicago has been engaged in an effort to standardize measurements of social work. The volume presents the results of such standardization on the part of a number of national social agencies. The fields included, in addition to a preliminary chapter on the registration of social statistics in 1928, are: family and ex-soldier welfare and relief and mothers' pensions; legal aid; noninstitutional service to travelers; care of dependent and neglected children; and institutional care of adults. There is a concluding chapter summarizing the committee's first year of work. HARVEY ZORBAUGH

Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics, by MARY AUGUSTA CLARK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1930, xi+151 pages.

This handbook, developed in connection with the program of the Commonwealth Fund in the field of mental hygiene and child guidance, represents an attempt at the standardization of the recording of clinical statistics which will make them available for research and statistical analysis. The system of recording outlined was experimentally developed in the practice of the Commonwealth Child Guidance Clinics, and other coöperating agencies. It is to be hoped that the system of service bookkeeping outlined will be widely adopted, thus making workable for those interested in research the rich veins of human experience that are being tapped by clinics dealing with problems of social adjustment. The

Commonwealth Fund will supply to interested organizations the printed forms worked out for this standardized recording at a nominal cost.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

The Negro Wage Earner, by LORENZO J. GREENE and CARTER G. WOODSON. Washington, D. C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930, 353 pages.

The increased output of literature by the Negro and about the Negro indicates the growing consciousness on the part of the American public of the importance of the race in our national life. This increased output also indicates the growing recognition on the part of both whites and Negroes that we have a problem of racial adjustment that will require the best intelligent effort on the part of both groups in its solution. The volume under review is a distinct contribution to the literature relating to the place and importance of the Negro in American life. Incidentally it will clear up certain misconceptions about the Negro and prejudices and superstitions concerning him.

Space allowed for this review does not permit an adequate treatment of this extraordinary book, but some points of emphasis will indicate the character of the data assembled and will, I hope, cause every one interested in this most significant of American social problems to read the book in its entirety.

The second point relates to the superstition that the Negro will not work. While the Negro comprises but 11.9 per cent of the total population, he furnishes 13.5 of all those gainfully employed. This proportion would have no doubt been greatly increased had not the rigid restrictions limited his sphere of operation.

The third and final point which we can mention is the decrease in the comparative number engaged in agriculture and personal service and the increased number employed in manufacture, mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, and the professions. One of the most noteworthy tendencies is the increased ownership of farms especially during the decade 1900-1910. This tendency was checked during the war period by the migration of the industries to the North, but this check is no doubt temporary.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

History of Economics, by OTHMAR SPANN, translated from the German by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1930, 22+311 pages.

This *History of Economics* which has gone through nineteen editions in German, and has been translated into many languages, including

Spanish and Japanese, now has been translated into English. This book is not only a history of economic science, but also a concise formulation of the main theories and systems of political economy. The leading economists and their ideas, from the mercantile system to the present day, are treated historically and in the relation of their development, the result being an excellent survey of the whole field of economics in the light of the problems it presents today.

The book is very valuable from many standpoints, including the splendid arrangement and organization of materials, but one of its most significant contributions has been the way in which the author has emphasized the *international* aspects of economics. These problems are being recognized to have increasing importance as business takes on more and more an international character.

JOHN N. ANDREWS

Education and International Relations, by DANIEL A. PRESCOTT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930, 139 pages.

Among the publications dealing with education in its international aspects this book deserves consideration. Following chapters dealing with Tradition, National Consciousness, Class Consciousness, The Organized Opinion of Teachers, New Psychological and Pedagogical Principles, Organizations External to Official Education, The League of Nations, The Interplay of Social Forces, the author summarizes the educational implications, and the quotation of the closing paragraph will give the reader a notion of the spirit and character of the book:

> In summary, the educational implications set forth in this chapter are: (1) that the struggle against the drag of tradition should not take the form of a direct attack upon well-established educational methods and materials. (2) That the psychology of habit suggests the desirability of developing the scientific attitude in the pupils of all schools. This attitude includes: a clear insight into the problems of society, the conscious search for all the facts relating to these problems, and the regarding of solutions as tentative, to be measured by the results secured by their application. (3) That the settings in which international problems are studied should be deëmotionalized. (4) That the direction of social evolution viewed on a humanitarian basis should determine the perspective of education in dealing with international problems.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

At the Detroit meeting of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology it was decided that the work of the Society as such would be discontinued for the present and the activities of the organization would be fused, first—with the American Sociological Society with the section on educational sociology, and second—with the American Association of College Teachers of Education, also with the section on educational sociology. Professor John M. Brewer of the Harvard Graduate School of Education was elected chairman of the sectional groups above mentioned and Professor Benjamin F. Stalcup of the School of Education of New York University is to continue as the secretary and coöperate with the chairman in getting a program ready for these sectional meetings. Membership in the American Sociological Society carries with it the privilege of any or all the sectional meetings of the organization. The same plan holds true with reference to the American Association of College Teachers of Education. It is believed that this plan will not affect the growth and progress of educational sociology, but will give those interested the opportunity to function in connection with these other two large groups of sociologists and educators.

Fourth Biennial Conference on World Education

Denver will be the scene of the fourth biennial convention of the World Federation of Education Associations, July 27 to August 2.

Present indications point to an attendance that will run well into the thousands. The homeward trek of teachers attending the N. E. A. convention at Los Angeles will be interrupted at Denver by this second great convention of the summer.

The World Federation of Education Associations came into existence in San Francisco in 1923 at the time of the summer convention of the N. E. A. at Oakland. Out of this beginning grew the first biennial convention at Edinburgh in 1925. Three thousand educators were in attendance. From Edinburgh to Toronto in 1927 where eight thousand convention guests registered; from Toronto to Geneva in 1929 where three thousand delegates representing fifty-three nations joined in the deliberations; from Geneva to Denver in 1931 where an attendance between five and ten thousand is expected—this in brief tells the story of the World Federation so far as conventions and numbers present can tell a story.

The organization of the association into international committees reveals, however, an amazing story of effort in attaining the following objectives: "Friendship, justice, and good will among the nations of the world"; "Tolerance of the rights of all nations"; "Appreciation of the value of inherited gifts of nations and races."

Towards these ends committees are at work throughout the world at all levels of public- and private-school organizations. This committee

work was organized on the plan of Dr. David Starr Jordan, who, at the 1925 convention, was awarded the Herman prize of $25,000 for the best plan "calculated to produce world understanding and coöperation through understanding."

The association includes the following departmental organizations: the Parent-Teacher Association, health education, educational crafts, preparation of teachers, international aspects of library service, education and the press, rural life and rural education, preschool and kindergarten, elementary education, secondary education, the international aspect of colleges and universities.

Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, Augusta, Maine, is president of the World Federation of Education Associations, and Dr. Charles H. Williams, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, is secretary. The list of committee chairmen includes the names of educators known throughout the world.

Twenty Get Fellowships for Social Research

Awards Valued at $70,000 Are Won in National Tests by University Students

Research fellowships valued at $70,000 have been awarded for 1931-1932 by the Social Science Research Council, it was announced March 7 by Walter R. Sharp, fellowship secretary of the Council, 230 Park Avenue.

This is the seventh group of research fellows appointed by the Council in carrying out its program, begun in 1925, embracing economics, social, economic, and political history, political science, sociology, social psychology, cultural anthropology, statistics and allied fields, such as political geography, law, and education.

The new fellows, 20 in number, holders of the doctor's degree or its equivalent from twelve American universities, were chosen in a national competition "for exceptional ability in research." They will work in England, Continental Europe, the United States, Mexico, and Palestine. The scope of their research includes the history of French fashions, problems of labor in widely separated parts of the world, the behavior of the ape, theories of money, criminology, heredity, national boundaries, mental traits and the family.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. Emory S. Bogardus is chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Southern California. He received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from Northwestern University and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He has had wide experience as a worker and research student in the field of social and child-welfare problems and activities, and has been one of the leading organizers of such activities in the Los Angeles section of California. Dr. Bogardus's teaching career has been spent in the department of sociology of the University of Southern California. At present he is president of the American Sociological Society. He is an active member of numerous educational and sociological organ-

izations, is editor of the new *Journal of Sociology and Social Research*, and is the author of several books in the field of sociology, some of the more recent being *Fundamentals of Social Psychology, History of Social Thought*, and *The New Social Research*.

Professor F. Stuart Chapin attended the University of Rochester. He received his Sc.B. degree in 1909, A.M. in 1910, and Ph.D. in 1911, from Columbia University. He has taught in Wellesley College and Smith College. At present he is professor of sociology, chairman of the department, and director of training courses for social and civic work at the University of Minnesota. He was president of Minnesota State Conference of Social Work from 1927-1928. Dr. Chapin is the author of the books *Field Work and Social Research* and *Cultural Change*.

Miss Neva R. Deardorff, director, Research Bureau of the Welfare Council of New York City, received her doctor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Deardorff has done active research work in the field of social and child welfare. She is chairman of the United States Committee on Coöperation in Pan American Child Welfare Work. She is the author of many articles in educational publication and books, some of which are "English Trade to the Baltic During the Reign of Elizabeth"; "Legal Adoption in Pennsylvania"; "Some Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1926; "Child Welfare" in The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 3, 1930.

Miss Mirra Komarovsky came to the United States from the Caucasus, in 1922. She received her A.B. degree from Barnard College in 1926 and her A.M. from Columbia in 1927. Miss Komarovsky has held the position of assistant professor of sociology at Skidmore College. At present she is research assistant at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University.

Professor John K. Norton received his A.B. degreee from Stanford in 1916; A.M. in 1917; and Ph.D. Columbia, 1926. He has been for several years the director of research of the National Education Association, and editor of the *Research Bulletin*, Washington, D. C. Dr. Norton is a member of the National Education Association and the American Research Association of which he was president in 1927-1928. He is the author of *The Ability of the States to Support Education*. Dr. Norton has resigned as director of research of the National Education Association to take effect at the end of the academic year 1931 to accept a professorship in education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Miss Mildred B. Parten received her A.B. degree from the University of Minnesota in 1923 and her Ph.D. from the same University in 1929. She was a research fellow, Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota; assistant professor of sociology, Texas State College for Women; and research assistant, Yale Institute of Human Relations from 1929 to the present. Dr. Parten has just been awarded a Social Science Research Fellowship for the coming year and will study at the London School of Economics.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

VOL. IV JUNE, 1931 No. 10

EDITORIAL

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY *is glad to offer its editorial columns for the discussion of a moot point in Professor Rapeer's paper published in January.*

"THINKING" IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

May I definitely call in question one statement made by Mr. Louis W. Rapeer, in his article on training the nation to think, in the January JOURNAL? And, in so far as the validity of this one statement defends the validity of his whole article, may I call in question that article? A technique of thinking is not something *natural;* it is an invention growing out of one's philosophy. This particular statement of Mr. Rapeer's reveals him as an adherent of a particular type of social philosophy. The statement in question is plausible; leaving it go unquestioned would seem to be to permit a byway, now somewhat overgrown, to be thought a main highway. A logic of the social sciences is now the greatest need in those broad fields. Mr. Rapeer's statement seems to me to lead, not to a useful logic for the frontiersman in the social sciences, but to something very different, something to be warned against.

On page 290 of the January JOURNAL, he says: "You can get no better idea or answer in your conclusion than you have put into your list of hypotheses." This is the statement that I must question.

Much so-called "social science" accepts Mr. Rapeer's dictum. That I will admit. But I put such "social science" in inverted commas. To assume that you can get no more out of your problem than you put into it already made is to assume that you learn nothing by a study of problems—which is, of course, not far from the truth! This is a convenient method for the schoolman, especially the public-school man, who does not quite dare risk getting too close to realities himself, and who must never upset the folkway attitudes of the students

save within safe bounds that have been determined beforehand. It is also not altogether foreign to the "thought processes" of the "practical" man, who is never much disturbed by problems, who is never hospitable to theory, and who is rarely driven from his "rules of thumb," even when those rules fail. In other words, this statement grows out of an academic type of thinking technique, not out of a technique that belongs to the logic of science.

It is of the essence of modern science that the *problem* shall provide, in the processes of analysis and creative synthesis, *its own eventual answer*. A "problem" that finds its satisfactory solution in an antecedent hypothesis is not a problem, in the logical sense, at all; it is merely an academic example, set up to try the wits of the pupil. I do not mean that the type of "problem" that Mr. Rapeer cites from the high-school work in history at Washington, Indiana, is worthless. It is at least a bit of a break from the scholastic grind of committing details of history to memory. But it is merely the old "problem method" of teaching which, to my knowledge, was puzzling the wits of high-school pupils, to no enormous profit, in Seattle twenty years ago; and presumably elsewhere, too. It was the last preceding method whose passing ushered in the "project."

If, then, social science can get no closer to its problems than to poke around in them with preëxistent hypotheses, it might well close up shop and go home. Physical and biological science did not get ahead that way; the chemist and the biologist do not put final hypotheses into their problems; they get their hypotheses out of their problems. That mental set which is the approach to a problem for most of us must yield to the findings; we must get our science out of our problems. If we don't get a better idea or answer out of our problems than we put in by way of hypothesis, then we are either merely standing still or running round in circles. Maybe that's what social science is doing these days!

JOSEPH K. HART

PRESIDENT RAPEER'S REPLY TO DR. HART

I appreciate Dr. Hart's attention to my article and should like to take the space here to illustrate the application of the thinking technique to reasoning on the everyday problems of life. There we dealt with its application to the reflective history lesson; but the method of judging by comparison of pairs of hypotheses—or suggested ways of solving a problem—had not yet been invented when the experiments in class teaching were made. Omitting much, then let us answer Dr. Hart's strictures.

I see no penetrating criticism in his statement. Dr. Hart is evidently writing of some figment of his imagination or painful experience and hardly roams into the neighborhood of this technique. I crave penetrating and incisive criticism, but a few unsupported opinions on

the general subject get us nowhere. Our sincere aim is to advance the science of our profession and to help every researcher by the most drastic criticism possible, pro and con. To say that the thinking technique is not new is like telling a mother that her twenty-year-old daughter is not her child. The mother knows well the birth pangs and the long years of guided growth and development. So I stare at Professor Hart in similar consternation and wonder if he is familiar with logic, psychology, or education in this field. Let him tell us where he can find described this pattern of reasoning and, especially, where any one has ever discovered or invented this method for the steps of testing and judging. He cannot.

Dr. Hart's main contention seems to be that I am wrong in the statement quoted that "You can get no better idea or answer in your conclusion than you have put into your list of hypotheses." This fact appears as obvious to me as the one that you can get no more money out of your purse than you have put into it, or that you can check out no more money from the bank than you have deposited to your account. He does not seem to realize that we have only ideas (suggestions, conjectures, hypotheses, suppositions) by which to solve problems. Reasoning is mainly the process of getting and selecting hypotheses. In our step two we find every way of solving the problem we reasonably can. Our answer must be selected from this array by testing and judgment. We can get these ideas only from our experience and from others. You certainly are not, for example, going to choose as a route to another city one of which you have never heard, "entertained," "captured." If you have found this way and possess it to compare with others in judgment, then only can you use it as your answer, of course. Dr. Hart writes as if Einstein, say, could report as his conclusion as to the nature of space and time an idea (theory, belief) of which he had never thought—that he could magically extract a bunny that wasn't in the hat. What he is talking about, if this doesn't answer him, I don't know.

In general, this is the only technique of thinking that follows very intimately and closely the natural pattern of the mind's movement in reflective thinking or reasoning. It is, therefore, basic in teaching children and adults how to think and fundamental, yea, indispensable, in any research and development of the social or natural sciences. The need is to make it a *conscious* process and a ready habit. You are faced by a problem, whether of buying a fountain pen or of discovering the influence of environment in producing genius; how are you going to solve it? You make a list of all the possible ways it can be solved. Your answer has to be one of them; doesn't it? Then bring forward steps three and four of the technique to test and select the best. Here, say, are the five and only kinds of fountain pens that may meet the specific conditions of your problem. It must be one of the five. Find it. That is the way we think; and all the king's horses and all the king's men will not make the answer *another* pen *outside*

the five. Could anything be simpler? What Professor Hart means by "antecedent" or "preëxistent" hypotheses only he probably knows.

If educational sociology is going to amount to anything it must have men building it who can *think*—not just sprawl vague sentences on paper for articles and books. The recently edited books by Gee and Rice on the "methods in the social sciences," e.g., fail lamentably to help much since they do not set forth the basic factor in research—how the mind operates in solving problems. Here it is, in this technique, using either the abreast or tandem handling of ideas (or a combination of the two); and we shall solve our national and international problems now untouched only as we learn the natural pattern of thinking and follow it closely in a technique that helps the mind perform.

So I must conclude that Dr. Hart has thrust his lance against a knob in my armor instead of a joint.

LOUIS W. RAPEER

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STREET PLAY

WILL R. REEVES

Actual statistics, of course, do not exist showing the extent to which the streets are used for play by children. General observation indicates a widespread use. Doubtless, with the increase in urban living in this country, street play becomes more frequent and also more dangerous.

Recreational surveys made in many cities by the National Recreation Association have observed and studied street play. In 20 cities, for instance, observations of children have shown that from one half to nine tenths of the children seen were in the street, the average being nearly 67 per acre, the percentage of children on the street equaled affects the amount of play space, seems to have little relation to the number of children actually in the streets. In Kansas City, where the average density was 6.5 persons per acre, the percentage of children on the street equalled that found in Providence or Richmond, with their average density of 19.1 and 22.9 persons, respectively. Even if the children are not compelled to play in the streets through actual congestion, they are apparently inclined to do so, unless a strong counter-attraction is provided.

Similar observations were made to learn what these children were doing in the streets, yards, parks, and vacant lots. In the table on page 608 it must be remembered that "playing" includes pitching pennies, fighting, shooting craps, chasing chickens, tying a can to a dog, or "just fooling," while "idling" means actually doing nothing, merely sitting or standing around; this division is made on the basis that even slapstick "playing" is preferable to a state of apathy. The children walking through the districts with an air of "going somewhere" were included in only two cases.

Although statistics have been taken in only a few of the surveys, it is found that, of the average 40 per cent of children who are listed as playing, the percentage of these engaged in organized games is small. In Scranton,

	Walking Per cent	Working Per cent	Playing Per cent	Idling Per cent
Tampa, Fla.	..	8	26	66
South Bend, Ind.....	..	11	54	35
Sioux City, Ia.....	..	10	41	49
Portland, Me.	11	7	47	35
Ipswich, Mass.	..	5	28	67
Waltham, Mass.	..	11	42	47
Detroit, Mich.	..	7	38	55
Eveleth, Minn.	..	8	24	68
Kansas City, Mo.....	..	12	37	51
Montclair, N. J.....	..	5	56	39
Newburgh, N. Y.....	..	13	38	49
Yonkers, N. Y.....	..	15	50	29
[1]Cincinnati, Ohio	..	13	41	46
Cleveland, Ohio	..	9	61	24
Toledo, Ohio	11	..	50	41
Scranton, Pa.	..	..	38	62
Providence, R. I.....	..	14	32	54
Fort Worth, Texas....	..	9	44	47
Richmond, Va.	..	12	..	65
Milwaukee, Wis.	..	19	31	50

These figures show that from one fourth to two thirds of the children seen were doing absolutely nothing, the average for the twenty cities being 49 per cent. This estimate is conservative, since in compiling this report the benefit of slight indefiniteness in any survey has been given to play.

where 33 per cent of the number observed were playing in some manner, only one third of these were seen in organized games, such as quoits, baseball, dramatic games, etc.; the rest were hoop rolling, roller skating, bicycling, or engaged in some form of the demoralizing "play" mentioned above. In Ipswich, Massachusetts, where a little over one fourth of the children were playing, only 11 per cent of these were playing organized games, football being most popular at the time of observation. This small percentage of organized games is partly due to the fact that a large proportion of the playing is done on the streets and alleys or in private yards where organized games are difficult or impossible because of traffic or restricted space; in Scranton 40 per cent of the children were on traffic

[1]No record made of where seen.

streets. Undirected street play tends to develop disrespect for law and cunningness in social relationships; these developments are fostered when crowded streets permit only disorganized fooling in the line of play. In San Francisco, inquiries among the school children brought forth answers from 13 per cent that they never played and from 46 per cent that they played in the streets.

It is not surprising to find that about two thirds of the children seen in these observations are boys. It is also true, of course, that the majority of the children are between the ages of six and fifteen. In Cincinnati, where the observations were apparently confined to the streets, 50 per cent of the children were between ten and fifteen years old, and the investigator made the significant comment that 47 per cent of all cases brought before the Juvenile Court were between these ages.

Some of the street activities are revealed by the following instantaneous census:

Playing ball
Jumping rope
Marbles
Handball
Matching picture cards
Bouncing ball
Playing with balloons
Walking
Tag
Sailing boxes in the gutter
Riding bicycles
Riding velocipedes
Playing with paper boxes
Taking care of baby
Running around
Roller skating
Marking pavement with chalk
Pavement checkers
Gathering wood
Playing with doll
Building fire
Playing with old tire
Sweeping street
Stoop ball
Selling papers
Buying candy at stand
Newspaper fight
Playing cards
Playing on cellar door
Bootblack
Watching motorcycle
Hopscotch
Playing with dog
Hitching on to autos
Basketball
Pass ball
Hoop rolling
Fencing with sticks
Tip cat
Riding hobbyhorse
Climbing fence

A study made in 1929 of street games in New York City between the Battery and the Bronx showed that about 150

games are played. The most popular games, it was discovered, are those in which a ball of some kind is used. Such games as stick ball or baseball, handball, punch ball, basketball, football, street checkers, and hopscotch are the most attractive to the majority of boys and girls. The children have made their own rules to meet the conditions of the locality in which they live. They do not, for example, play the regular baseball type of game, but use a small rubber ball two or three inches in diameter, and strike it with the hand or stick instead of a bat. Bases are marked out and the rules of regular baseball applied. It is obvious that football cannot be played on the sidewalk, so the boys substitute touch football. During the basketball season one may walk down almost any street in the city where there are large numbers of boys and see an old barrel hoop or a tomato basket attached to the side of a building serving as a basketball goal.

Street checkers is played in much the same way as marbles. A chalk diagram is drawn on the sidewalk with numbered squares, the checker is placed in square number 1 and flipped with the fingers to square number 2 and so on. The checker must slide into the square to assure a consecutive turn. The winner is the player who reaches the last square first.

The ten most popular games were:

Baseball	Punch ball	Handball	Stick ball
Basketball	Football	Box ball	Ring o'lives
Soccer	Volley ball		

Street play is, of course, hazardous in these days of automobiles. Figures compiled by the National Safety Council, showed that, in 1929, automobile accidents to children totaled 180,000.

A number of cities have adopted a policy of setting aside streets for organized and protected street play. Thirty-six cities in 1929 closed up 165 streets for play under leadership in this way, according to figures sent in for the 1930 yearbook of the National Recreation Association.

Attendance at 105 of these streets was reported to be over 720,000.

Some social workers have feared the effect of protected play streets on children, doubting whether the small children would be able to remember the particular periods and the particular days when the streets are guarded from traffic, and fear that children once having acquired the happy habit of playing in the street may be less careful and, therefore, more subject to accidents. Many, too, feel very strongly that the use of a makeshift provision such as a play street may reduce the likelihood of securing real playgrounds.

In spite of these difficulties and fears, the play-street policy has been definitely adopted by a number of cities and the experience in Cincinnati, for instance, has made it seem worth while to report their experience somewhat at length.

In 1920, the need for play streets for the children of Cincinnati was made known to the city authorities. Upon recommendation of Cincinnati Community Service, the recreational agency of the Community Chest, the mayor and the city solicitor authorized the closing of ten streets for play between the hours of 6.30 p.m. and dark for the period of the summer vacation. At a later period this action of the mayor and city solicitor was confirmed by an ordinance of Council.

The play streets were selected on the basis of

1. Child-population congestion
2. Traffic flow
3. Surface conditions
4. The attitude of the majority of the people residing on the streets

As is the case with everything new, considerable opposition was at first encountered and many weeks were expended in obtaining the approving signatures of the majority of citizens. An interesting gauge of a changed public opinion is the fact that after ten years of this service

committees from practically every section of the city—better residential districts as well as the downtown congested districts—are petitioning for supervised play streets not only during the vacation period but throughout the spring and fall.

No funds being available for supervision the first year, it was necessary to operate the streets with volunteer play leaders. Community Service supplied the official barricades, signs, red lanterns, street showers, and play equipment.

One year's experience disclosed the fact that, unless paid supervisors could be employed, the streets would have to be closed. The volunteers, however civic and socially minded, could not be relied upon for continuing an efficient service. In 1921, Community Service was allowed sufficient funds to provide trained male and female play leaders at each location. At no time since has a play street been operated in Cincinnati without two trained and paid leaders in charge. Upon the establishment of the Public Recreation Commission on January 1, 1927, the play streets were transferred to public control and supervision.

It was believed at first that play streets would only be operated until the city could provide adequate playground service in every community. This belief was based on an optimism that no longer can be justified by actual facts. The almost complete disappearance of the open places in our large cities, the great increase in the number of motor-driven vehicles on the streets, and the increasing cost to taxpayers in providing adequately sized and properly landscaped play areas for all the children and young people, along with the continually rising standard of the people concerning the lengthening time period these facilities should be employed, has changed our opinion of play streets as a temporary substitute for regular playgrounds.

Recognizing conditions as they are, and not as they might be, we now believe that to such public play facilities as the play field, the neighborhood playground, and the

school playground should be added the public play street, an additional public recreational area where, with the consent of the majority of the residents and under paid and skillful supervision, a safety zone of play is provided for the children of the immediate neighborhood.

The best that can be said for play streets is poor indeed when we consider their inherent disadvantages. Concrete streets, brick walls, and a street shower are a far cry from the woods, the fields, and the crystal stream—the play areas of former generations in this country. It is depressing environment even when compared with a properly equipped and landscaped playground, but it is at least a place where chidren can play without danger of accident or death, and where, under trained supervision, such play, given a long enough period of time, may become a contributing means to improve public health and an educational factor for decency and order in all human fellowship relations.

In Cincinnati, therefore, the supervised play street is considered a permanent public-recreation facility. While the location of the streets may be changed because of contemporary circumstances, the policy of supervised play streets is accepted as fixed. Therefore, as increased maintenance funds become available, the operating time period will be lengthened to include the long twilight hours in the late spring and early summer and additional strategically located play streets will be added.

For the past three years and at the present writing, Cincinnati play streets are operated under the Public Recreation Commission as follows:

1. Official barricades with city police signs designating the street as a play street are set out at both ends of each street promptly at 6.00 p. m. These stanchions do not extend from curb to curb as residents on the streets are permitted ingress and egress. Other automobile drivers who ignore the signs are arrested and fined. As soon as it becomes close to dark, the lighted lanterns are hung on the barricades. The streets are closed to play at 9.00 p. m. The supervisors are held responsible for the use and care of the barricades, lanterns,

street showers, and play equipment. All this paraphernalia is stored with a resident on the street.

2. No hard ball or soft ball is permitted on these streets. The games are limited to volley ball for the older boys and men; kick ball, captain ball, and center ball for the girls and young women; long base (substitute for baseball) for the smaller boys; and singing, games, circle games, and story-telling for the little children. Hand equipment is provided for jackstones, checkers, modified quoits, hopscotch, O'Leary, beanbag throw, and numerous other small group and individual games.

3. When the surface permits, all major games areas are marked off with granolite, one treatment lasting for the summer period.

4. Every regular participant, junior or senior, is registered. The registration card carries the sex, name, age, and address. A child must register on a play street or playground. No interchange of registration is permitted.

5. Every street is provided with a bulletin board on which newspaper clippings, bulletins, games rules, etc., are posted.

6. After the second week of operation, regular teams in senior and intermediate volley ball, intermediate kick ball, and intermediate and junior long base are organized and scheduled for interplay-street games. Every "travelling" street team must be accompanied by the play leader, expecting the senior volley-ball team. All interplay-street games are played for the play-street championship silver cup. The Junior "C" emblem given for good conduct, good sportsmanship, and athletic ability is awarded on the basis of one for every fifty registered boys and every fifty registered girls.

7. Two trained gypsy story-tellers are sent twice weekly to each play street. Transportation is furnished for these story-tellers by the service clubs (Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, etc.).

8. The Travelling Theater with a program for both adults and children visits each play street five times during the summer. It is not uncommon for these amateur actors, singers, and instrumentalists to entertain an audience of some 800 to 1,200 people, most of whom stand throughout the performance, and many of whom occupy "box seats" in the tenement-house windows. Many of these people tell us their only theatergoing experience is with the theater-on-wheels.

The Travelling Theater is also our propaganda and educational medium. From the stage and *before* the performance we speak of the ideals and purposes of the Recreation Commission, the recreational neighborhood needs, sportsmanship standards for spectators as well as for participants, the obligation of the "hostess" street to visiting players, the way to act when a game is won—and lost—and even go so far as to touch on religious tolerance *when the need* is obvious. Recreational tax levies and bond issues for recreational purposes also come in for their share of the discussion.

9. Just before the street is closed on hot nights, specially constructed street showers are attached to the street fire hydrant and the children enjoy a shower.

As part of this brief paper, I am including a letter sent

to the city manager by a taxpayer who acted as volunteer chauffeur for two of our gypsy story-tellers.

THE U. S. PAPER GOODS COMPANY
CINCINNATI, OHIO

August 4, 1927

Colonel C. O. Sherrill
City Hall
Cincinnati, Ohio

My dear Colonel Sherrill:

Last night it was my privilege and extreme pleasure to serve as chauffeur for two charming young ladies, clad in traditional gypsy costumes, who went to various of the "play streets" in the city telling stories to groups of little folks.

The experience was a revelation to me, and I imagine it would be equally so to the majority of our citizens, who, I imagine, have no conception of the good work that the municipal government is doing for the children and young people in the underprivileged districts, through the Public Recreation Commission.

The activities of one, Walnut Hills Street, were typical of all those visited. When we arrived at the barricaded head of the street, the intense animation that greeted our eyes reminded us of one of the congested streets on New York's East Side—but with this great difference; the activities here were organized activities under the skillful direction of a young man and young woman—trained members of the Public Recreation Commission staff.

At one end a large number of small boys was engaged in some sort of a game, the identity of which escaped me—but whatever it was, it was being played in earnest under the eyes of one of the supervisors.

A little farther down the street a net stretched between two conveniently located telephone poles separated two teams of older boys and young men playing volley ball. As we watched, a truck pulled up at the lower end of the street and the game, which was evidently a practice game, ceased. A group of six or seven young men gathered around the supervisor for instructions; then they climbed into the truck and drove away—evidently to measure volley-ball skill with some picked team on a new play street in some other section of the city. Immediately upon their departure, new groups took their place on the volley-ball court and another game was in progress.

At the far end of the street, where they were safe from being trampled under foot by the strenuous ball players, were the little tots—children from two years up to nine or ten. They too were busily engaged in organized games of various sorts, but when they spied the gypsy story-tellers, games were forgotten as they rushed towards us—evidently the gypsies were prime favorites here. In less time than the telling takes, a group of 75 or 100 little folk were seated—on the curb, in the street, everywhere—grouped around the story-tellers.

Training they may lack, home environment may be nothing to brag about, but they were certainly not lacking in respectful attention as the tale of "The Wise Old Woman and the Goblins" or "Princess Sweet Tooth and the Mince Pie" was unfolded to them. All eyes were glued on the story-teller and the group of children shivered with delighted horror, wept with sympathy, and shouted with rapturous joy when the goblins were finally routed and the beautiful princess was restored to her prince.

And all around in the background was an ever-growing fringe of grown-ups, tired, worn mothers, old grandfathers, black and white, who were drawn near by curiosity and stayed to enjoy the stories, with pleasure scarcely less evident than that of the children.

All too soon for the children the story period came to a close and the gypsy story-tellers were on their way to another street where the scene was reënacted, and so on until long after darkness had fallen.

En route from one play street to another in the West End, we passed yet a third, where another phase of the Commission's activities was just getting under way—the Travelling Theater. Time did not permit us to stop, but from the size of the assembled crowd it was evident that the roaming players, who, I understand, donate their services as do the story-tellers, were assured of a welcome.

I am of the opinion that too few of Cincinnati's citizens know anything about this angle of the municipal activities. It has not had the publicity it deserves because it is doing a far bigger thing than merely bringing a measure of enjoyment into the lives of children who have far too little of it—it is providing an outlet for youthful spirit and enthusiasm and guiding them in channels that are bound to make for better citizenship.

Now, just two typical incidents and I am through. I point them out because to me they seem to illustrate just what this work is doing.

At one of the streets, three young girls, scarcely out of their teens, one holding a tiny baby in her arms, drifted into the group around the story-teller. Probably the story didn't interest them—it wasn't intended to—but the story-teller did. Not a detail of her appearance or actions escaped them. "Isn't she sweet," asked one. "Not a bit stuck up either," said another. "It must be awful nice to be able to go round and do things for people like that," said the third.

No envy—no sneering remarks. Only a wistful desire to emulate, and a sincere appreciation of sincere efforts. Wasn't the germ of *something worth while being sowed here?*

And on a street in the black belt where the little ones sat round-eyed and open-mouthed as they drank in the stories, one old Negro with gray locks, who looked as if he might have stepped out of one of Joel Chandler Harris's stories, limped up to the writer and said, "They is doing a great thing for our kids," indicating the story-teller with a wave of his cane. "We appreciates it, too, down here."

To those of us whose contact with our city government is derived in the main from reading about police court and city council in the newspapers, with, perhaps for sauce, a visit to City Hall for the

purpose of paying for the privilege of parking too long in one place, such an experience as mine might be highly illuminating, and might be the means of forming some new opinions about the city government. May the good work continue.

Very truly yours
(Signed) R. M. Fleming
Advertising Manager
The U. S. Paper Goods Company

Play-street registration and attendance in Cincinnati, for the year 1929, on streets open from June 24 to September 7 on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday nights, from 6.00 p.m. to dark, is as follows:

	Registered		Attendance		
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Adults
1.....	125	110	3234	2984	1615
2.....	100	92	2438	1846	650
3.....	90	100	2136	2488	....
4.....	80	83	2523	2338	2673
5.....	125	51	5458	5392	2869
6.....	227	136	3950	3200	714
7.....	311	575	5673	10554	2781
8.....	198	235	2664	3780	2114
9.....	81	20	2545	3646	2588
10.....	174	176	4431	3510	2487
	1511	1578	35052	39748	18491

Play-street leaders are paid at the rate of $2.50 per evening. Assistant play leaders receive $2.25 per evening. The total cost of supervision per week per play street is $23.75.

It is very difficult, if not almost impossible, for any administrative public-recreation group to determine the character-building values of the recreational activities under its jurisdiction.

Character is an intangible thing that cannot be measured with a physical yardstick. As recreational authorities, we cannot afford to be dogmatic in the assumption that character building is a concomitant of supervised play.

Loose statements not substantiated by a definitely proved body of facts over a long-time period serve to defeat our purpose. I believe, however, that we are on firm grounds in stating

A. Recreation is neither inherently moral nor immoral. It may be either, depending upon the type of leadership provided or volunteered

B. Children and young people cannot be in two places at the same time

Public-recreation authorities are convinced by actual field experience that skillfully trained, adequately paid play leaders of high character not only *do not permit antisocial character standards* and practices on the athletic field and playground, but, what is more important, given a long enough period of time, are an investment that will yield a return in more justice, fair play, self-control, and a finer sense of honor and modesty in each individual youth.

Every one will further admit that a boy cannot shoot craps and play baseball at the same time; steal an automobile and play a regularly scheduled game of basketball; commit a burglary or engage in a hold-up and play a regularly scheduled game of football at the same time. We can further agree, I believe, that to the normal, average boy, football, baseball, and basketball have a stronger appeal than the antisocial acts cited. However, that is beside the point—*a boy cannot be doing two different things at different places at the same time.*

Therefore, the more boys and girls we enlist in regular teams and keep playing under an agency that not only makes the schedules, provides the officials, checks up on the forfeited games, but insists upon the maintenance of high standards both for players and leaders, the fewer boys and young men we will have appearing in the juvenile court and before police-court judges.

The most that can be said, therefore, for the character-building influences of supervised play-street activities, is: Given sufficient funds to provide the right kind of adequate supervision and a period of years in which to build up and fortify the inherently decent character attributes of the average youth through the increment daily acquired under right and continuing leadership—and most of our play-street children will develop enough resistance power to choose right practices over wrong practices.

THE TIDE IS TURNING

ROSS L. FINNEY

A conspicuous phase of the intellectual life of America during that part of the new century through which we have already passed has been to introduce the techniques and methods of exact science into the mental and social fields. Such a movement was in a sense predestined, in view of the stage to which the natural sciences had advanced. Laudable is almost too obvious an adjective to apply to such a movement in our day; it was inevitable! And it was equally inevitable, no doubt, that such a movement should become involved in certain incidental fallacies and minor aberrations. Nothing good is ever perfect. It was equally inevitable, therefore, that a time should shortly come when the ever shifting searchlight of intellectual attention should chance upon those fallacies and aberrations and expose them. And who can fail to welcome such a contribution! That time has now arrived, judging from a new note that is distinctly discernible in the current literature of the movement. To point this out by reference to several recent books and articles is the purpose of the present paper.

The first of these is Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical Universe.* For our present purpose there are three aspects of this book that seem significant. The first is the fact that, scientist as he is, he is frankly unashamed to display an interest in philosophical questions. There is no vagueness in his mind as to where physics leaves off and metaphysics begins; but for his metaphysical interests he is quite outspokenly unapologetic. He accords to metaphysics a field as dignified and worthy as his own. He proffers his findings in the field of physics as data for the metaphysician, and even goes so far as to suggest a metaphysical interpretation of the same. He knows exactly where he

stands and what he is doing; but what he is *not* doing is to affect a self-conscious, pedantic unconcern for metaphysics. In this he is quite outside the mores of the current science movement in the mental-social fields. And yet, who is a greater scientist than he?

In the second place he quite repudiates the current assumption of mechanistic determinism. It was recently the privilege of many Americans to hear Professor Eddington over the radio. His spoken English, by the way, was delightfully terse and chaste; apparently there is no fear upon his part that the use of choice and polished diction will discount him as a scholar. In that address he declared that he had searched diligently through the physical universe for evidence of mechanistic determinism, but that he had been entirely unable to find any. He says the same thing in substance in his book. Apparently the a priori assumption of mechanistic determinism, which so many disciples of the science movement in sociology have taken as the A B C of science, will have to be abandoned.

The third aspect of the Eddington book that seems significant is its enormous popularity. From this fact it could seem to be inferred that the intellectual public of the English speaking world is hungry for something scientific that goes beyond the assumptions, techniques, and conclusions of the sort of science that confines itself religiously within the strictest definition of that term. It would appear fairly safe, therefore, for sociologists and educationists to venture somewhat outside such narrow limits.

The second book of special interest in the same connection is *The Biological Basis of Human Nature,* by Professor H. S. Jennings of Johns Hopkins University. No American stands higher as a scientist than he. And yet in that book the same principles are set forth as in the Eddington book. In the first place he makes no apologies for extra scientific questions or quasi-philosophical techniques. As illustration of the former are his speculations as to the nature of the self; of the latter, his delightful handling

of the heredity-environment dilemma and of the monogamy problem.

In the second place he repudiates the deterministic assumption of the current science cult as ruthlessly as Eddington. This he does in his introduction of the term "emergent evolution." He also argues against determinism in the name of the scientific method itself. He contends that it is the business, and that therein lies the very promise, of science as such to explore and experiment instead of taking anything for granted a priori. Mechanistic determinism he brands as just such an a priori assumption. In this connection he suggests that there may be some things to find out, biologically and psychologically, about man that cannot be found out by studying rats and little chickens, because "emergent evolution" may have introduced something into the composition of man that does not exist at all in any of those lower organisms, thus vitiating the assumed analogy. He objects to Watsonian behaviorism precisely on the ground that its deterministic assumptions are unscientific. And, by the way, it seems surprising how many recent writers who purport to be scientific go out of their way to criticise Professor Watson. One infers that behaviorism must be going somewhat out of fashion.

So much for recent books; but there has also appeared lately a battery of magazine articles that are significant. The first of these was by Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton and appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* for May 1930, under the title of "The Threat of Science." In this article Dean Gauss restates the old distinction between means and *ends*, things and *values*, which Professor James declared to be a distinction as old as Plato. But Dean Gauss and the editor of *Scribner's* appear to feel that it will bear repeating in this "century of science." The gist of the dean's warning is expressed in his terse remark that "there are other cherishable forms of truth (aside from science) at which highly civilized men have warmed their hands." The "threat" of science is that the essential values of life

will be overlooked and disparaged at the dictates of the science cult. He contends that the economist, the sociologist, the historian, and all other social scientists should concern themselves not only with objective data, but also with questions as to what is just and what is unjust, what is good in human life and what is bad. And he adds: "It should console them more than it now does to know that by this same act they step over into philosophy. This used to be a quite creditable profession and it would help to clear the air if we so regarded it again."

The next article is in the *The Atlantic Monthly* for August, and is entitled "Can Science Control Life?" It is by Lawrence Hyde, whom the editor introduces as "a young Englishman whose book, *The Learned Knife,* has enjoyed a *succès d' estime*—a volume defending a religious and aesthetic attitude towards life against the claims of science." Hyde makes the same distinction that Dean Gauss makes in the *Scribner's* article and follows it with virtually the same warning. He futhermore contends that the attempt of sociologists to be strictly scientific, which leads them to stress the study of things, causes them proportionately to neglect the study of values. This, he says, is not only because values are intangible, and hence unmeasurable, but also because they can be apprehended only through the individually clouded lenses of subjective sentiment. He goes one step further and points out that this avenue of discernment necessarily introduces what might be called a subjective refraction into all study of values, a potential fallacy which the would-be scientist is committed in advance to overlook. Hence the necessity for philosophy, if such data are to be studied at all.

The above distinction between things and values was elaborated by the present writer in *Educational Administration and Supervision* for March 1930. That article was provoked by the Freeman-Kilpatrick debate at Cleveland two years ago, in which Professor Freeman betrayed a complete failure to apprehend the implications of the Plato-

James distinction, while Professor Kilpatrick pressed them far less insistently than he might have done.

The last article to be mentioned here appeared in the *Sigma Xi Quarterly* for September 1930. It is entitled "What is Science?" and was the presidential address of Dr. C. M. Jackson before the Minnesota chapter of the society of the Sigma Xi. Professor Jackson is a member of the medical faculty at the University of Minnesota and enjoys the reputation locally (not to say elsewhere) of being one of the most outstanding scientists on the Minnesota campus.

Professor Jackson accords his approval, incidentally, to antideterminism, but the major interest and significance of his address for the present purpose is in his generous delimitation of the field of science. He says: "The nature of science is a theme demanding our attention because of an important matter of policy which is now pending. The question is what branches or fields of knowledge shall be considered as science, in which investigators may be recognized as eligible for membership in our organization?" He makes the familiar distinction between science and philosophy but declares that there is some of both in all branches of knowledge. In short, he answers his own question so generously as to include psychic and social scientists as eligible, not excluding those who employ the philosophical technique. From which it would appear that sociologists and educationists may study human values philosophically hereafter without self-conscious apprehension.

Judging from Dr. Jackson's address there is an almost inevitable ambiguity in the very word science itself. It appears that the strictest definition of the word is not the only one permissible. Therefore, the attempt to live up to too strict a definition is apt to degenerate into a thankless work of supererogation, and even to betray undignified inferiority complex before associates of the Dr. Jackson type. But what is far more serious is that, by so doing, psychologists, sociologists, and educationists turn their

backs upon the most important parts of their own fields, as Gauss and Hyde contend; and that becomes an actual obstruction to science.

Sociologists have long observed the phenomena of mental epidemics and mob crazes; but there is little or nothing in our textbooks to the effect that the intelligentsia are about as susceptible to intellectual fads and fashions as are the ignorant masses themselves. But they certainly are! The field of pedagogy is replete with them. And who would venture to contend that the scientific movement itself has been completely free from such phenomena. On the contrary, it will have to be admitted that the movement to scientize sociology and education has displayed, albeit as a by-product, several of the typical characteristics of a veritable religious cult; an unbounded faith in its own efficacy, a mythology of unverified assumptions, an intolerance towards nonconformists, and sometimes an actual flair for persecution. But apparently the tide is turning.

EDUCATION AND LABOR'S REWARD[1]

J. FRANK DAY

The law of balance or of variable proportions must be understood before insight into the problem of distribution is possible. Indeed, one might say insight into any major economic, social, or educational problem is impossible without such knowledge. The factors of production ought to be so balanced in the nation at large and in specific industries that maximum social efficiency is obtained. Too much of one factor implies too little of the others. When labor, for example, is relatively too plentiful, the right proportion can be obtained either by decreasing the supply of labor or by increasing the supply of the other less abundant factors. The reward of each factor depends primarily upon its marginal productivity, which in turn is determined by its relative supply. The major factors of production should be so balanced in the interest of welfare that labor's share would be as great as possible consistent with inducing the other factors to function properly. Likewise, within each factor—whether land, capital, enterprise, or labor—the various types should be properly balanced. Too much park land and too little agricultural land, too many shoe factories and too few farm-implement factories, too much specialized enterprise in the oil business and too little in the textile business, or too many lawyers and too few physicians—all and each would mean less efficiency than if a proper balance were maintained.

The distribution of the national dividend is especially significant to the labor factor for the reason that the workers are primarily the ends of the industrial process and only incidentally means in that process. The other factors should be rewarded to the point of inducing their coöperation. Labor's share should be maximum. What

[1]Continuation of "Education and Labor," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, IV, 7 (March, 1931), 434.

that share is depends somewhat upon the point of view taken and upon the definition given to income.

The prosperity and welfare of the laborer in modern industrial society is primarily dependent upon his money or nominal wages, which in turn depend upon the relative supply of labor and of the other factors of production. The supply of the other factors indicates the demand for labor. If the number of workers is small relative to the amount of available land, capital, and enterprise, wages will be high; otherwise they will be low. Welfare demands that wages be high, and, therefore, that the supply of land, capital, and enterprise be as great as possible.

Education can do but little to increase the total amount of actual land area in the world. Education has done much and can do more to increase the amount of land available for agricultural and other purposes. The draining of areas too wet for use, the "dry farming" and irrigation of semi-arid and arid regions, and the adaptation of crops to unclaimed lands, whatever their nature, are all examples of what education can do in reclaiming waste land. To the extent the schools assist in thus increasing the amount of usable land, they are playing a part in raising the wages of labor.

Concerning the supply of capital and its increase, education can do much more than in the case of land. The schools are doing much and could do more in cultivating habits of thrift and restraint. Increased savings made available for investors means a lower interest rate, the encouragement of enterprise, a consequent increase in the demand for labor, and, hence, higher wages. An essential element in thrift is habits of industry without which, of course, little would be available for saving. A pressing need in the schools and the home is more attention to the matter of cultivating habits of industry. Industry, in turn, is unarmed without efficiency. Education, therefore, by promoting technical efficiency, by cultivating habits of industry, of rational spending, and of saving, and by stimu-

lating invention can do much to increase the total supply of capital goods, which means higher pay for labor.

Of course, capital is of no avail if not used. Putting capital to use is called investment and is the function of the entrepreneur. Useless is capital without enterprise, and feeble is enterprise without capital. The two are correlatives, each stimulating the supply and functioning of the other. What education can do directly to increase enterprise may be indicated in a few words. First, much might be done to stimulate the birth rate on the higher intellectual levels. Secondly, youth with money and brains or merely with brains could be encouraged and trained for industrial service and leadership. America has been more fortunate than have the older countries in attracting men of high ability into business service. However, much yet remains to be done in showing that opportunity for real social service exists as fully in the industrial field as in the so-called higher professions, and in stimulating the attitude not only among potential and actual entrepreneurs but also among the population generally that business and industrial service is worthy of the highest ability, and in demonstrating that fair profits are incidentally necessary yet subordinate to that service.

The supply of labor can also be considerably influenced by education. In the interest of welfare in general and of high wages in particular, the supply of labor ought to be increased on the higher levels and decreased on the lower levels. The duties, opportunities, and social responsibility of parenthood taught to all levels will have the desired effects of stimulating the birth rate among those whose ability and income qualify them properly to take care of a family and of repressing the birth rate among others with less ability and income. Any training or instruction that has the effect of raising the standard of living will result in the postponement of marriage and fewer children. Education ought, therefore, to be especially concerned with rationalizing the standard of living among those whose

standard is already sufficiently high quantitatively, and with stimulating a higher standard among the poorer classes.

Of course, immigration from foreign countries as well as "from Heaven" will affect the supply of labor. Our present immigration laws afford much needed protection; but perhaps they ought to be extended to afford still fuller protection against flooding the ranks of ordinary and skilled labor. If we could stimulate the immigration of men with high ability for industrial leadership, it would have an opposite effect upon our labor problem; namely, that of elevating rather than of depressing wages. The extent to which the schools can, through training for intelligent citizenship, determine the course of subsequent industrial legislation will indirectly assist in elevating the wages and promoting the welfare of the workers.

Nominal wages must be converted into consumers' goods before "real" income is realized. Obviously the correlation between the former and the latter is positive and high but far from being perfect. Many persons show little wisdom in their buying. The school could do much to effect a more equitable distribution of goods by offering courses in the art and science of buying. Knowing how to buy implies a knowledge primarily of wares, markets, and prices. No course in the high-school or college curriculum would be more instructive or practically helpful than such a course. Not altogether how much a man earns but how well he spends is the determiner of his welfare.

The preceding sentence, however, does not cover the ground fully. Wise buying does not ensure the fullest possible income. It is one thing to possess goods and another thing properly to utilize them. To double the ability of persons to utilize goods would be to double the amount of goods in terms of utility. What education can do in this respect is beyond description or comprehension. All that is done to increase this ability, education, incidental or directed, must do. There is no other agency. The schools

can perform no greater economically productive service than, through a wisely planned liberal-education program, to increase the utility of wealth and services by increasing the ability to utilize them. Utility is a relation and depends as much upon the user as upon what is used. Utility can be increased by working upon either or both. Industry works primarily upon goods; education works primarily upon users; neither industry nor education should, however, neglect the primary function of the other. An education resulting in mere technical efficiency in producing goods thought of as yards and pounds with little ability to find enjoyment or benefit in their use not only starves the souls of the workers by giving a one-course intellectual diet, but greatly limits the product of their subsequent labor measured in terms of utility. Such an education misses its primary function. The ultimate end of education is persons, all of whom should be workers. Uppermost in the minds of school administrators and teachers ought to be the producers and consumers. Organic income, both subjective and objective, may be derived from production as well as from consumption activities, in work as well as in leisure. To promote enjoyment and benefit in both labor activities and utilizing activities ought to be the primary economic aim in education.

Broadly speaking, education is the nation's major industry. It is our largest and most important public enterprise. Something over thirty million persons—counting officials, teachers, and students—are engaged directly in the work of transmitting and re-creating formally our national life. Many others, including the makers of school buildings, equipment, apparatus, textbooks, and the like, are indirectly giving all or most of their time to educational work. The public has nearly seven billion dollars invested in the enterprise of education.[1]

Is this vast amount of labor economically productive? All will agree that the manufacturers of equipment and the

[1] *See* Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1929), page 2, for the figures quoted.

builders of school plants are directly productive and that the labor of teachers, other officers, and students is indirectly productive. It is easily pointed out that education increases economic efficiency and, hence, indirectly the sum of produced goods. A somewhat more subtle question must be answered: Is the labor of teachers and of students directly productive?

Economic goods are of two kinds: material goods and services. The latter, while less tangible, are no less economic goods than the former. Teachers render services for which they are paid. Their service is wanted, is bought and sold, and is a commodity in the labor market. Their labor is productive of subjective utility because it is wanted. It is also productive in an objective sense to the extent that it results in benefit to themselves, the pupils, and the nation.

The work of the pupils is also directly productive: first, of subjective utility because parents, teachers, and society desire it; secondly, of objective utility because it produces beneficial results in themselves and society. To the extent that the work of the school is projected upon tangible undertakings in garden, laboratory, or shop, resulting in the creation of useful concrete goods, it is doubtly productive. Utility in tangible goods is added to utility in personality. Moreover, it is probable that learning is greatest when associated purposefully with tangible productivity. Creating things to be used restrains and guides the intellect and hand. Of course, learning is the primary objective of school activities and not merely incidental to the process.

The discussion would not be complete without a few words concerning the very sensitive question of wages in the school system. However, merely indicating the general law of wages and a rough application to the school situation will be all that is attempted. The function of wages is to induce workers to render service. If a particular kind of labor is relatively very scarce, resulting high wages will have the effect of attracting more workers into that

kind of work and to retain those already engaged. When the supply of a certain service is great, low wages will discourage others from entering the occupation and encourage some to seek employment in another calling or industry. In short, low wages repel the overflow and high wages attract it.

In a general way the law of wages applies to the teaching profession, but with some very important modifications. First, custom prescribes with particular force what teachers are to be paid. Second, public policy tends to hold wages to a given minimum in spite of an oversupply of teachers. Third, the supply of teachers is largely determined arbitrarily by legislation prescribing the requirements for teacher's credentials. This limiting factor is subject to rather frequent change. Fourth, the demand for teachers in any school district is determined partly by the nature of the school program, partly by the taxpaying power of the community, and only partly by the marginal productivity or specific efficiency of the teachers.

These several qualifications prevent wide variations in the pay of teachers on any level in a particular school district on the basis of subjects taught. English teachers, with little if any regard to the general relative supply of English teachers, will receive approximately the same salaries as the teachers of other subjects. The wage or salary schedule may be high or low but will be approximately the same for all subject types.

In regard to the very tender question of men and women teachers, the law of wages applies with more precision. Women have flocked into the teaching profession and men have had a tendency to seek employment for their talents elsewhere. These tendencies are due to the facts that in general the law of supply and demand in the labor market results in higher pay for men than for women, and that public policy has seen fit to disregard this tendency, at least in part, in fixing educational salary schedules. On the elementary-school level, the results of this policy have perhaps

been more beneficial than otherwise. Women teachers have been attracted to positions where they are peculiarly efficient. However, on the high-school level we notice a widespread pernicious lack of balance between men and women teachers. The proper proportion can be restored only by inducing with higher pay the undersupplied element to render service. If women teachers are relatively few in number in a given high school, their marginal productivity will be high and justice as well as sound policy dictates that they receive somewhat higher salaries than men in order that more such teachers will be attracted to the school and a proper balance of the sexes be restored, provided, of course, that the higher pay is necessary to effect the purpose. Sentimental slogans such as "equal pay for equal work" simply are not applicable unless the product is accurately measured, and accurate measurement of the intangible contribution of teachers is impossible. It is less difficult to determine what teacher types are most desired and to reward them sufficiently to obtain their services.

This principle applies broadly as well as specifically. If better teachers on the whole are to be induced to enter the field of education as a profession, it will be because they are attracted by higher rewards than are now offered. These rewards, of course, ought not to be wholly financial. In fact, it is perhaps possible that very high salaries without adequate professional safeguards might make the profession a prey for the salesman and the politician. Evidence is not completely lacking that these classes have already become in some localities somewhat firmly entrenched in at least a few highly rewarded administrative positions. Professor J. K. Hart[2] thinks this "a step in the right direction"; that is, towards educational statesmanship. My acquaintance with politicians and their methods makes me doubt the soundness of this optimism. Educational workers should receive pay sufficient to induce the best teacher-type

[2]Joseph K. Hart, *A Social Interpretation of Education* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), pp. 305-306.

of men and women to function with dignity, security, and self-respect. To attract some other type would certainly not be wise. It ought to be emphasized that strong personalities are as necessary in the classroom as behind an office desk. Artistry in education is as important as administration and should not be discriminated against on the salary schedule. The two types of work demand somewhat different types of persons to do the work. Each type should be paid sufficiently well to induce the best personalities of each to function.

A MEASUREMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COLLEGE TEACHING

A. O. BOWDEN

THE PROBLEM

What is meant by teaching? Many have held that the effectiveness of a teacher's work is measured by the amount of change brought about in the one taught. This change, of course, is internal, consisting of changed attitudes, changed beliefs. Those changes bring about a modification of the individual's activities.

This thinking, these attitudes, these beliefs are not formed in a vacuum. If accurate data is not at hand the mind creates them and proceeds to furnish material to formulate these beliefs. One's mind is never a vacuum. One's ignorance of a field of knowledge or of a subject does not prevent one from thinking nor does the mind remain empty. Rather it is filled up with preconceived notions, prejudices, and biases. Usually the more ignorant one is the more certain that he knows what he is talking about. One's mental universe must be consistent to himself. This is the basis of mythmaking and the growth of legend. Myths are more illusory than legends and based often on imagining and daydreaming, while legends are based upon facts half or partially remembered. In legends the gaps or half remembered facts in one's mind are filled in and the continuous process of thinking goes on. It should be the purpose of all content courses, therefore, to see that sufficient facts are furnished the mind to enable it to reach correct pictures of situations and events or, rather, prevent it from filling in imaginary data which mislead reasoning. It is one of the problems of the school to fill in and orient students in the various fields.

Instruction is not a pouring in process, a filling up of the mind merely, but rather a process of substituting scientific data for preconceived and half-formed notions.

THE METHOD

In order to determine the amount of change wrought in older, mature college students, the writer set up the following techniques as an attempt to measure the amount of change that could be effected in the thinking and attitudes of a class of students in an advanced course in anthropology during the spring quarter of 1930 in New Mexico State Teachers College and in the summer quarter in San Diego State Teachers College in a course in social psychology. The classes in both institutions were composed of both men and women who had had several years teaching experience.

The list of statements and questions given below was mimeographed and a copy was given to each student to fill out at the first meeting of the class before anything was said about the outline or subject matter of the course. Nothing was said as to the purpose of the questions. No comments were made.

During the course no special attempt was made to bring the questions and statements up for discussion nor to place them boldly in relief except to marshal all the facts available relating to the ideas involved in the statements. The material covered in the course in anthropology is roughly represented in Kroeber's *Anthropology* and in consistent and well-selected readings which were assigned. The course was conducted by a combination of methods consisting of lectures, class discussions, quizzes, and papers required from time to time of the students.

The course at San Diego in social psychology covered the materials represented in Kimball Young's *Social Psychology* and an abundance of well-selected collateral readings. The method of instruction in both institutions was as nearly alike as one individual teacher could make it, save only a slight variation in materials.

On first thought, one may wonder why the same questions and statements were presented to the two classes. It will be remembered that social psychology has its foundation in the field of anthropology and much of the prejudice

and bias represented by the test materials is touched in the two subjects differing only in points of attack and points of view. For example, in anthropology the topics of race, language, culture and its distribution, heredity, and the like were treated. Religions, sentiments, emotional thinking, biases, and wishful thinking were discussed. In the course in social psychology the biological basis of human behavior, the psychology of language, personality, culture, prejudices, myths, legends, the psychology of crowds, mobs, audiences, public opinion, and propaganda were examined. For the correction of certain biases, such as race differences, the material in the field of anthropology is better suited than that found in the field of social psychology.

What is your present mental or emotional attitude towards the following questions? We are not concerned whether you can answer correctly each or any question now. We desire to know the present state of mind you have towards each. Answer without reflection. Give the first impression that comes into your mind.

1. Which do you consider the most superior race, taking into account the factors of intelligence, character, and morals?
2. Is there a correct universal standard of beauty?
3. Which is the most moral of the races? Name them in order.
4. Do you believe man descended from the monkey?
5. Is civilization a quality of mind or a condition of the quantity of ideals, beliefs, and material usable objects?
6. Does man inherit biologically his own language propensities; i.e., such as an inherited tendency to speak English, German, and the like?
7. From the standpoint of universal culture which is better for mankind today, a high or a low tariff between nations?
8. Was there ever a time when human groups were in a state of nature and free from social restraint?
9. Does the individual child go through the same developmental stages which the race has followed?
10. Do you believe that no one is cultured unless he can read, write, and know literature and the classics?

This same list of questions was given at the last meeting of the class without comment, explanation, or discussion.

The data of the two sets, those given at the beginning of the course and those at the last, were tabulated.

DATA AND RESULTS

TABLE I

New Mexico State Teachers College

Case Number	*Statements completely changed*	*Statements partially changed*	*Per cent of change in the 10 statements*
1. E. W. B.....	5	1	60
2. H. C.	2	0	20
3. E. H.	7	1	80
4. C. E. H.....	2	2	40
5. A. W. H.....	3	2	50
6. E. K.	2	1	30
7. C. H. L.....	5	0	50
8. M. Mc.	1	4	50
9. I. R. M.....	1	2	30
10. L. W. M.....	2	2	40
11. J. M.	4	0	40
12. N. P.	5	0	50
13. E. M.	5	1	60
14. C. L. R.....	5	0	50
15. H. M. S.....	3	0	30
Average....	3.5	1.07	45.3

The above table does not give the specific questions on which there was change. It only points out that amount of change each of the fifteen individuals made during the course. The cases below show the specific question and how the individual answered them before and after the course in anthropology. In weighting the value of partial change it was thought best to give it an arbitrary value of one half.

Case Number 1

Before Question Number	*After* Question Number
1. No difference	1. Each race thinks it is best
2. No	2. No
3. Caucasian	3. Depends upon mores
4. Yes	4. No
5. Yes	5. Yes
6. No	6. No
7. High tariff	7. Neither
8. Yes	8. No
9. No	9. No
10. One may be cultured on other lines	10. False

Case No. 1—(*Continued*)

Complete change	5 questions and statements
Partial change	1
Per cent change	60

Case Number 2

Before	*After*
Question Number	Question Number
1. White	1. We don't know
2. No	2. No
3. White	3. Probably the English
4. No, not exactly	4. No, but it is unknown
5. Yes	5. Yes
6. No	6. No
7. High	7. High
8. No	8. No
9. Yes	9. Yes
10. True	10. False

Complete change	2 questions and statements
Partial change	0
Per cent change	20

Case Number 3

Before	*After*
Question Number	Question Number
1. Yellow, White, Brown, Black	1.
2. No	2. No
3.	3. The Chinese may be as far as living up to their morals is concerned
4. No	4. No
5. Both	5. Beliefs and material culture
6. No	6. No
7. Low tariff	7.
8. I don't think so	8. Yes
9. Not identically	9. Many as an individual
10.	10. False

Complete change	7 questions and statements
Partial change	1
Per cent change	80

TABLE II

San Diego State Teachers College

Case Number	*Statements completely changed*	*Statements partially changed*	*Per cent of change in the 10 statements*
1. A. A.	7	1	75
2. B. C.	4	3	55
3. B. F.	4	3	55
4. B. H.	5	1	55
5. B. W.	3	0	30
6. G. K.	6	0	60
7. C. E.	5	2	60
8. D. A.	5	1	55
9. F. N.	3	1	35
10. F. E.	2	1	25
11. G. E.	2	2	30
12. G. S.	3	1	35
13. K. B.	7	0	70
14. M. B.	5	1	55
15. M. M.	3	1	35
16. N. N.	6	0	60
17. R. M.	4	1	45
18. R. O.	7	0	70
19. R. H.	2	0	20
20. S. A.	7	0	70
21. S. R.	1	2	20
22. T. E.	4	1	45
23. T. M.	6	1	65
24. W. L.	3	2	40
25. W. A.	3	1	35
Average....	4.04	1.04	45.2

Case Number 1

Before Question Number	*After* Question Number
1. Caucasian, Mongolian	1.
2. No	2. No
3. White	3.
4. Yes	4. No
5. Quality of ideals, etc.	5. Quality of ideals, etc.
6. No	6. No
7. High	7.
8. Yes	8. No
9. Yes	9. No
10. True	10. False

Case No. 1—(*Continued*)

Total change	7
Partial change	1
Per cent change	65

Case Number 5

Before Question Number	*After* Question Number
1. White, Yellow, Black	1. White, Yellow, Black
2. No	2. No
3.	3. White
4. No	4. No
5. Quantity of ideals	5. Quantity of ideals
6. No	6. No
7. Low	7. Low
8. No	8. No
9. No	9. Yes
10. Wrong	10. False
Total change	3
Partial change	0
Per cent change	25

TABLE III

Question Number	*Number of students making complete change*	*Number of students making partial change*
1	26	5
2	4	4
3	19	12
4	5	2
5	21	1
6	5	1
7	7	10
8	16	3
9	15	1
10	17	2

Data in this table are obtained by adding all the changes and partial changes in the two classes combined. It shows that the greatest change in attitude was in regard to superiority of races, the meaning of civilization, the nature of man in a primitive state, the recapitulation theory, and the definition of culture.

Although the data given to the two classes were different approaches to the prejudices and biases represented by the ten questions, the total amount of change in the New Mexico group and the California group was strikingly similar.

The writer does not claim that all the prejudices and biases represented by the ten questions are highly important in general, but he feels that these are common and, from a scientific standpoint, without much foundation in fact. The most he claims for this investigation is that it points to a method of measuring the amount of biases and prejudices that may be harmful. It is possible that in any field of knowledge now taught in our colleges and high schools many erroneous beliefs are held by almost all students. These may be listed, arranged, and presented to any class in most content subjects. It may be that the elimination of such prejudices is one of the most important functions of a teacher. A method similar to this one described in this paper could be worked out and any teacher could in this way have a rough index worked out as to the effectiveness of the methods he uses in his class and the wisdom with which he selects his material of instruction.

Such subjects as physiology, hygiene, geography, history, civics, citizenship, and economics contain material which may be used to eradicate many biases and prejudices almost universally held by students. It is the duty of schools to eliminate as many of the bad kinds of prejudices as possible. Singularly enough nearly all school subjects are avenues through which these may be reached and changed without resorting to preachments and dogmatisms.

All the individuals in these two classes are advanced students, nearly ready to receive degrees. While no I. Q. ratings were available for all of them, they are rather superior in intelligence as measured by their grades in other courses. All except two have been teachers and are preparing for teaching as a life work. It seems rather bad that narrowing prejudices should exist in the minds of those who have charge of instructing the young.

THE SCHOOL-TEACHER STEREOTYPE

KENNETH H. MCGILL

Stuart A. Rice and Willard Waller recently published an article on stereotypes in the *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*.[1] Their article demonstrates: (1) that stereotypes exist, (2) that they have a relation to occupational classifications, (3) that their action may be measured statistically, and (4) that their action is bound up with our estimates of personal traits such as intelligence and craftiness. It also raises the question: Of whom do we have stereotypes? This question, together with the fact that stereotypes are related to occupational classifications, suggests the present study. In other words, this paper is concerned with "occupational" stereotypes.

Before proceeding further, it might be well to explain what we mean by stereotypes—and by occupational stereotypes. Stereotypes, according to Lippmann,[2] are those pictures of things which we carry about in our heads. They represent the appearance of the individuals of certain classes of objects and persons. Man cannot become acquainted with all of the world about him. He must as he experiences the objects and persons of his surroundings classify them, and then set up a type in his mind to represent each of these classes. When he later comes in contact with a member of a class, his picture of the class presents itself within his head and conditions his behavior towards this particular member of the class. These "class types" or "class pictures" are known as stereotypes. Kimball Young's latest work[3] shows something of the rôle that stereotypes, in general, play in everyday life. The present article, however, deals only with stereotypes of people, and it is interested in these only in so far as they are bound

[1] Stuart A. Rice and Willard Waller "Stereotypes," *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXII (1928), pp. 180-185.
[2] Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922).
[3] Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930).

up with occupations. For instance, let us say that we possess a stereotype of the traffic officer as an occupational group—or of the stock broker or the news reporter. When we see an individual—or his photograph—who suggests the cop, the broker, or the reporter to us, our picture of this occupational class is brought to mind. We then proceed to classify the individual as to occupation and to regard him accordingly. It is with such stereotypes that this paper is concerned.

It is impossible, however, to study all of the class types which represent to us the persons of the various occupations; so one—the stereotype of the female school teacher—is chosen. The teacher is selected because teachers are almost universally known as an occupational class and because a study of teachers may contribute to educational sociology; and the woman school teacher is used because women teachers far outnumber men in American elementary and secondary schools. The present article not only shows the existence of the school-teacher stereotype, but it presents some of the markings or expressions of the face of the teacher, which we recognize as a part of our own school-teacher stereotype. It also shows stereotypes acting as a basis for occupational identification.

In this instance, we study the stereotype as it is called to mind by photographs. Ten photographs, 5 of women and 5 of men, were mounted without identification on a cardboard and numbered from 1 to 10. These pictures were posed photographs and were approximately 4 by 6 inches in size. The pictures, according to their mounted arrangement, were: (1) a society woman, (2) a farmer, (3) a woman school teacher, (4) a plumber, (5) a woman school teacher, (6) a printer, (7) a housewife, (8) a business man, (9) a woman school teacher, and (10) a farmer. The teachers were over twenty-five years of age and all of them had been teaching more than six years at the time the photographs were taken.

The prepared chart was taken before small groups of students at the University of Nebraska. The members of these groups were asked to identify the pictures by number; that is, to state the occupational class to which the facial appearance of each person suggested him as belonging. If an individual on the chart was known to a student, no identification was to be given. If a student had difficulty

TABLE I

Picture

Occupational Class	No. 1 *Society woman*	No. 3 *Teacher*	No. 6 *Teacher*	No. 7 *Housewife*	No. 9 *Teacher*	*Total frequency per class*
Teacher	14	32	86	23	69	224
Housewife	15	3	4	36	20	78
Office worker	11	33	11	16	5	76
Musician	36	8	....	13	3	55
Nurse	1	3	15	7	13	39
Sales woman	6	16	12	3	3	30
Actress	12	1	....	13	1	27
Singer	18	....	....	2	....	20
Student	7	3	1	6	....	17
Painter	4	7	....	2	2	15
Business woman	....	6	1	....	7	14
Domestic	2	10	1	....	....	13
Social worker	....	4	....	2	5	11
Writer	1	4	2	2	....	9
Missionary	....	....	6	1	1	8
Mother	....	2	1	....	4	7
Society woman	2	1	....	3	....	6
Country woman	....	1	2	....	2	6
Beauty-parlor worker	....	1	....	2	....	3
Church worker	....	....	2	....	....	2
Lawyer	....	....	2	....	....	2
Librarian	....	....	2	....	....	2
Delinquent	1	....	....	....	....	1
Telephone operator	....	....	....	....	1	1
Waitress	....	....	....	....	1	1
Total frequency per picture	130	130	138	131	137	666

in making an identification, a similar action was to be taken. Students were allowed to look at the chart as long and as closely as they desired. No suggestions as to identification were given. The identifications made were from an unknown number of stereotypes that existed in the minds of the identifiers—it being assumed, of course, that the stereotype brought to the mind of the identifier by each photograph suggested the occupation he assigned to that photograph. One hundred forty-one students participated in the task.

The occupational classes—25 in number—to which the 5 women were assigned, are shown in Table I.[4] The table

[4]Occupations associated with the pictures of the men are not included in Table I. We are studying a female stereotype.

is read: 14 persons identified No. 1 (society woman) as a teacher; 32, No. 3 (teacher) as a teacher, etc., or No. 9 (teacher) was identified by 69 as a teacher, by 20 as a housewife, etc. Identifications expressed thus: "No. 7—teacher or nurse" are not recorded in this table. There were 13 such identifications. No. 1 was designated once as being either a musician or an artist and twice as being either a society woman or a nurse. There was some uncertainty, therefore, as to which stereotype the picture called up, though there was no confusion in this case with the school-teacher stereotype. Picture No. 3 received 7 of these doubtful identifications, 3 in which the teacher type was confused with other types: "nurse or teacher," "business woman or teacher," "stenographer or teacher"; picture No. 5 received 1 doubtful identification: "teacher or stenographer"; No. 7, 1: "housewife or teacher"; and No. 9, 1 "teacher or nurse." From this it appears that certain stereotypes have something in common, especially teacher and nurse and teacher and stenographer stereotypes.

In Table I occupational classes low in frequency and similar in nature are combined under one heading; for instance, opera singer, radio singer, stage singer, "talkie" singer, and vocalist are included under *singer,* and bookkeeper, office girl, private secretary, and stenographer under *office worker.* Such shuttling, as this, also occurs in the handling of the data of the school-teacher class. The art teacher, the college instructor, the kindergarten teacher, the teacher of mathematics, music, physical education, or science, and the supervisor are all included under *teacher.* The number of such classes combined with the strictly teacher class under each picture is as follows: 7 under No. 1, 2 under No. 3, 4 under No. 5, 7 under No. 7, and 3 under No. 9.

This combining of identifications not only causes a slight increase in the frequencies for certain occupations, but it also makes the wide range of occupations which results

from an uncontrolled identification appear narrow. The statistician, however, regards it as the common-sense way of preparing the table. On the other hand, the psychologist thinks of this shuttling of classes as destroying the *stereotype* which lies back of the classification. The statistician would say that the table, as given, calls a spade a spade; the psychologist, that the distribution of data is controlled, that the action of the stereotype has been ignored. However, that may be, the conclusions to be drawn are the same.

The data in Table I reaffirm some of the propositions set forth by Rice and Waller. This data may be treated from the standpoint of probability—greatest probability—as Rice and Waller treat the material in their study[5]; or it may be dealt with in a more refined way from the standpoint of least probability. Such treatment, however, is hardly necessary in view of our present purpose.

There is a school-teacher stereotype. Let us take picture No. 5 with 138 identifications out of a possible 141. It has a frequency of 86 at the school-teacher category. This is six times greater than any other frequency under picture No. 5. Photograph No. 9 has a frequency at the teacher class which is five times as great as any other of its frequencies. Other high frequencies are present in Table I. What causes this decided clustering of identifications at certain categories under each photograph? It is the action of the stereotype—which has already been described—and the frequency and the recency with which the identifier has come in contact with the representatives of the various occupations. This latter thing places existing stereotypes in their relation to the forefront of the consciousness or the attention of the identifier. Which stereotype, then, causes the greatest piling up of identifications? It is the school-teacher stereotype. The school-teacher stereotype is responsible for the fact that 224—

[5]For a complete discussion of this treatment, see Stuart A. Rice, "Stereotypes, A Source of Error in Judging Human Character," *Journal of Personnel Research*, V. 7 (1926), pp. 267-276.

more than one third—of the total number of identifications made were accorded the school-teacher occupational class.

Since pictures No. 5 (teacher) and No. 9 (teacher) have the highest frequencies in comparison with all other frequencies and especially in comparison with the frequencies of the school-teacher class row, we may assume that these two pictures approach the school-teacher stereotype in appearance. In other words, the writer of this paper was able, as he selected the pictures for his study, to recognize some of the facial markings of his own school-teacher stereotype in the pictures of school teachers.

The high relationship which the data in Table I shows as existing between the photographic appearance of the teacher and the school-teacher stereotype brings up the query: What is there about the school teacher's face that calls up the stereotype? The answering of this question is our second proposition. When the students who did the identifying had completed their task, they were asked to give a brief reason for each identification made—to state the specific thing in the face of the person which brought the stereotype to mind. The completed work came in much after this fashion: ". . . No. 3,—school teacher—strained look in eyes . . . No. 5,—teacher—stern mouth . . . No. 7,— . . ."

From the total number of facial appearances or expressions mentioned in connection with all ten pictures, those pertaining to school teachers were separated and tabulated.

TABLE II

Appearance or Expression		*Times mentioned*
General facial		90
Specific facial		63
mouth	31	
eyes	29	
chin	3	
Total		153

A summary of this tabulation is given in Table II. It will be noted that the general appearance or expression of

the face, as leading to the association of the picture with the school-teacher occupation, is mentioned 90 times; mouth expression or appearance, 31 times; etc., giving a total of 153. What of the other 71 of the 224 teacher identifications? What were the reasons for these identifications? In 17 instances just the word "face," "mouth," "eyes," "hair," or "dress" was given as calling the teacher class to mind.[6] Such indefinite reasons have been ignored in preparing Table II. When the students participating were asked to state reasons for identifications it was explained that if difficulty was experienced in giving a reason for an identification the reason could be omitted. No reasons, then, were given for the remaining 54 of the 224 school-teacher identifications.

Table III presents the various expressions or appearances in detail. It is read: a stern, dignified, reserved, general appearance is mentioned once in connection with picture No. 1 (society lady); twice, with No. 3 (teacher); etc.—20 times in all—as that which led to the association of the picture with the school-teacher class. The table is self-explanatory. It contains some of the markings or expressions of the facial features of the teacher which those who made the identifications in this study recognize as part of the school-teacher stereotype they have in their heads.

This study, then, suggests that the teaching profession leaves telltale impressions upon the faces of those who follow it. These impressions become a part of our stereotype of the school teacher, and when we see them in a face they call to mind our teacher stereotype and we class the person as a school teacher. We cannot say, however, from studies thus far made, just how much we may rely upon the teacher stereotype, or any other stereotype, as a basis of correct occupational identification. The fact that photographs No. 5 (teacher), 7 (housewife), and 9 (teacher) were identified most frequently as teacher, housewife, and teacher, respectively, seems to indicate that stereotypes

[6] Hair was mentioned twice; dress, twice.

may be depended upon, to a certain extent, in the correct identification of persons as to occupation.

Table 1, besides showing a probable relationship between teacher, stenographer, nurse, and housewife stereotypes, also reveals the fact that the picture of the teacher seldom brings to mind the stereotype of the musician, the actress, the singer, or the society woman. Neither does it call up the beauty parlor, the delinquent, or the waitress type to any great extent. From this, it appears that the teaching profession not only puts certain markings into the face but also takes some out of it and keeps still others from ever appearing there. Table III apparently contains some of those impressions which teaching makes upon the face. We cannot be certain from this study, however, that school teaching leaves a distinguishing occupational stamp upon the facial features of the teacher.

TABLE III

Times Mentioned Per Picture

What suggested Identification	*No. 1 Society woman*	*No. 3 Teacher*	*No. 5 Teacher*	*No. 7 House-wife*	*No. 9 Teacher*	*Total times mentioned*
General facial expression						
Stern, dignified, reserved	1	2	10	2	5	20
Determined, *firm, set*	1	2	4	1	7	15
Intelligent, capable	1	1	3	1	2	8
Serious, patient, hopeless	....	2	2	....	3	7
Thoughtful, sympathetic, composed	1	2	2	1	....	6
Prim, trim, neat	....	1	3	1	....	5
Studious, instructive	....	2	3	....	....	5
Tired, bored, disgusted	....	....	3	1	1	5
Leader-like, forceful, brooks-no-interference	....	....	1	....	3	4
Nervous, strained	1	1	....	1	....	3
Old-maidish	....	....	2	....	1	3
Impersonal, hard	....	1	1	....	....	2
Refined	1	....	....	1	....	2
Ascetic	....	....	1	....	....	1
Minister-like	....	....	....	....	1	1
No-one-is-right-but-me	....	....	1	....	....	1
Turn-rise-pass	....	....	1	....	....	1
Vinegar-drinker	....	....	1	....	....	1
Specific facial expression						
Mouth						
Determined, firm, set	....	4	6	2	6	18
Stern, stony	....	2	2	....	2	6
Strained	....	1	2	....	1	4
Kindly, pleasant, understanding	....	1	....	....	1	2
Straight-lipped	....	....	....	....	1	1
Eyes						
Determined, firm, set	....	2	3	1	4	10
Piercing, staring	....	1	2	....	3	6
Straightforward	....	1	1	....	2	4
Dreamy, impractical	1	1	1	....	....	3
Kindly, understanding	....	1	1	....	1	3
Strained	....	....	1	1	....	2
O-I-know-all-the-tricks look	....	1	....	....	....	1

From Table III we can construct the face of the school-teacher stereotype. The result is not a pleasing picture. It is a harsh, painful, and forbidding one. Perhaps this constructed picture of the stereotype bears a close resemblance to the face of the school teacher. If it does, the occupational markings of the teaching profession show up plainly after fifteen years of teaching. They are quite evident after ten years of service, and even discernible after five. What can be done to change a system of education so that it will not leave such a heavy impress upon those involved in its administration? Perhaps that is a question which educational sociology can answer.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The May issue of the* JOURNAL *was devoted to research. It was planned to include in that issue a statement of the history and work of the Social Science Research Council which is the outstanding national organization promoting social research in America. On account of lack of space the article had to be omitted, but it is presented herewith.* THE JOURNAL *is indebted for it to Robert S. Lynd, secretary of the Council, and M. F. Hall, secretary to Mr. Lynd.*

The present officers of the Council are:

Edwin B. Wilson, Harvard University, President
Robert S. Lynd, Permanent Secretary
Meredith G. Givens, Special Research Secretary
Walter R. Sharp, Fellowship Secretary
Carolyne Allan, Controller

The present address of the Council is 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The American Political Science Association appointed in 1921 a Committee on Political Research to study the scope and method of research in the field of government. The findings of this committee, based on a study of the situation in several of the social sciences, pointed to the following conditions: Appreciable progress had been made in recent years in the development of a more scientific and inductive methodology in certain of the social sciences which might be of great value to other related social sciences; there was excessive overspecialization, too complete departmentalization and isolation of the special social sciences; there was no effective medium to ensure coöperative and coördinated research; and the research efforts of some of the most competent men in political science were frequently crippled and thwarted because of lack of equipment, lack of leisure, and heavy teaching loads in our colleges and universities.

On the basis of these findings the Social Science Research Council was organized in 1923 by members of the Political Science Association, the Economic Association, and the

Sociological Society, with Professor Charles E. Merriam as chairman. The American Statistical Association was added later as a fourth member. In 1924 the organization was incorporated. Subsequently, the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Historical Association were included in the roster of constituent societies, each of these being represented on the council by three members.

The societies which at present constitute the council do not, of course, regard themselves as covering the whole field of social science. Wherever problems of human behavior are dealt with by scientific methods, social science is being applied, tested, or developed. In all efforts of this type, whether they are made in a university, a clinic, a court room, a government bureau, or a business enterprise, the Social Science Research Council feels an interest which it hopes to see reciprocated. In 1929, four members-at-large were appointed to the council, enlarging its constituency by adding members from additional groups. In 1930 the number was increased to six. At present these memberships-at-large are held by representatives of the psychiatric, legal, public-health, educational, and geographical fields.

The seven constituent organizations and these members-at-large are brought together in the Council organization for the purpose of promoting scientific research on any valid problem of social inquiry, particularly in cases where problems overlap the boundaries of one or more of the special fields concerned. The Council is interested in encouraging greater diversity and fertility of scientific attack, including more carefully controlled experimentation, upon any clearly defined problem of human behavior. It believes that such fertility of attack is encouraged when specialists from more than one discipline—the economist, the historian, and the anthropologist, or the political scientist, the statistician, the sociologist, and the psychologist—are enabled to formulate a common problem and join in planning and executing a common program of research.

This stress upon a type of research involving questions that cut across the lines of the single disciplines has represented a desire to assist at a point in the research field where the difficulties confronting the individual investigator are obviously great, for the cross-discipline problem frequently calls for a liberality of financing and a degree of planning and patience in the gathering of data of unusual sorts beyond the reach of the lone investigator. At the same time, however, the Council has never intended any such preoccupation as it may have shown with these cross-discipline problems to involve neglect for the concerns of the great body of individual investigators working within the range of their respective disciplines. Concern with "coöperative research" or "interdiscipline problems" should not be allowed to hamper the first-rate mind, alert to the possibilities inherent in whatever problem enlists its energies. In line with this general point of view, the following action has been adopted: "The Social Science Research Council is concerned with the promotion of research over the entire field of the social sciences. The Council's thinking thus far has been largely in terms of social problems which cannot be adequately analyzed through the contribution of any single discipline. It is probable that the Council's interest will continue to run strongly in the direction of these interdiscipline inquiries. At the same time, the Council is quite aware of the fundamental place which the several recognized disciplines occupy in the upbuilding of more effective scientific research in the social field. The Council consequently acknowledges its definite responsibility for the promotion of research in the several constituent disciplines. In giving continued consideration to the needs of research in the individual disciplines, the Council would welcome the assistance of the constituent societies." Growing out of this action, plans are under way further to implement this plan through specific coöperation with the several constituent societies.

It is, further, the purpose of the Council to bring to-

gether scattered or isolated workers upon similar social problems in order to minimize needless duplication of effort. It is the policy of the Council not to undertake directly investigations other than the preliminary studies or to deal with problems other than those involving two or more disciplines.

The Council's internal procedures have developed experimentally. It was not until the fall of 1927 that the expanding work and the acquisition of substantial funds compelled the engaging of the first members of a full-time staff and the opening of administrative headquarters offices, which are now located at 230 Park Avenue, New York City. The bulk of the Council's work is carried on by committees assisted and coördinated by staff members. The chief of these committees is the Committee on Problems and Policy, organized in 1925, with a rotating membership on a three-year tenure not necessarily confined to persons who are Council members.

Advisory committees are set up, either under the Committee on Problems and Policy or directly under the Council, to aid in the consideration of the many proposals for research and other suggested Council work. Their membership consists of specialists representing varying points of view touching the cluster of problems that constitute the field of the committee in question, with a liberal sprinkling of men working in other fields whose special knowledge promises to fertilize the committee's deliberations. The latter type of personnel is included because of the Council's special interest in encouraging work involving more than one of the conventional disciplines. Advisory committees are not permanent, both the list of committees and the membership in each being reconsidered from year to year. At the present time, the Council is experimenting with a divisional set-up with staff members appointed to develop programs of research in several fields.

On the financial side it may be of interest to note that, since the first appropriation in 1924, the Council has ex-

pended on appropriations completed up to June 30, 1930, a total of over $600,000, with active appropriations for other than general administration amounting to $1,700,000. For the Council's general administrative expenses over the fourteen-year period beginning with 1925, the Council is assured a total of nearly $700,000.

The Council is conducting three rapidly expanding fellowship programs. The primary objective of the Research Fellowships in the Social Sciences has been to broaden the training of promising young social scientists by giving them, during the years immediately following the completion of their formal graduate work, the opportunity to carry on, unburdened by teaching or other duties, objective programs of research extending, preferably, beyond the frontiers of their immediate disciplines. In general, the Council feels that it is a sound principle to allow to individual fellows substantial freedom as regards the development of their programs of study. As an experiment during the year 1930-1931, however, the Research Fellowship Committee is contemplating the appointment of a limited number of fellows in coöperation with certain of the research advisory planning committees of the Council in such fields as crime, the family, public administration, and international relations; in each of these cases the advisory committee would assume responsibility for laying out for the fellow in question a course of "clinical" experience along nonacademic lines not ordinarily open to the academically trained student.

The program of Fellowships in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology was planned to increase the number of adequately trained investigators available to use the substantial funds for research in these specialized fields available from federal and other sources. There are gratifying indications that these fellowships have already affected substantially the quantity and quality of researchers in these two important fields.

The first annual award of fellowships to Southern graduate students in the social sciences was made in March 1930. The major purpose of these new fellowships is to develop a superior quality of personnel scientifically trained to work on important social problems confronting the southern section of the country. The fellows will spend the next academic year at accredited graduate schools studying social-science problems of special interest to the South.

The Council also awards grants-in-aid to a limited number of mature scholars whose capacity to carry on productive research has been clearly established. While in setting up these grants the Council has primarily in mind the competent individual investigator working on a good problem in any one of the social disciplines, it also welcomes applications for aid on projects involving two or more of the social sciences or promising to yield a significant methodological contribution. In any event, a substantial amount of work must already have been done on the project prior to an application to the Council.

The Council does not recognize the validity of the popular dichotomy between research and teaching. There is no denying that, under the guise of devotion to research, serious abuses of the teacher's responsibilities have in some cases occurred; and it is, of course, no service to research to blunt the interest of the oncoming generation of social-science investigators by dull and perfunctory hours in the classroom. The Council maintains, however, that even on the college level this conflict between teaching and research is more apparent than real; that, in fact, the best teaching tends to come from minds engaged in stimulating first-hand contact with significant research problems. The Council accordingly passed a resolution expressing its concern with the policies under which American collegiate education is being conducted: "Improvement of college teaching in the social sciences bears directly upon the Council's interests on at least two points. In the first place, more general understanding among college graduates of the complexities

of social life will promote the development of the sympathetic and enlightened public opinion which constitutes an important conditioning factor in many lines of social research. In the second place, better undergradute instruction in the social sciences will contribute in important ways to the development of the larger body of competent research personnel upon which effective future prosecution of social inquiry so largely depends. It is because the Council is so vitally interested in the quality of undergraduate instruction in the social sciences that it cannot be indifferent to the wise and deliberate cultivation of research activities among the members of the collegiate teaching faculties. From some points of view, teaching and research are conflicting objectives; certainly either may become so engrossing an interest as to result in the manifest neglect of the other. But from a different point of view, teaching and research are inseparably joined. Teaching is unlikely to remain vital and sound over the years unless the teacher not only keeps abreast of his subject but maintains a modest program of research or creative work. Such a program need not issue in imposing monographs nor in works of outstanding authority; but tangible evidence of intellectual growth is indispensable. Research opportunities exist close at hand in every community. Encouragement of research within appropriate limits is an essential condition for the maintenance of collegiate teaching efficiency."

BOOK REVIEWS

Pioneering on Social Frontiers, by GRAHAM TAYLOR. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, 457 pages.

This autobiography of the founder and head resident of Chicago Commons is a document of unusual interest. In it, Graham Taylor gives a vivid and absorbing account of the origin and development of those early social, civic, and educational movements which have played so dramatic a part in the growth of the finer aspects of the past thirty-five years of Chicago's life, and of the personalities of the pioneer social leaders whose vision and community mindedness initiated and fostered these movements. While the story for the most part is told against a Chicago background, it contains also an account of national and international experiences and intimate pictures of the pioneer social and political leaders in America, England, and the Orient, whom Graham Taylor has encountered in his travels. It is valuable above all for the very human account it gives of the way in which a man's personal experiences develop his social consciousness and his philosophy of life.

LUCY J. CHAMBERLAIN

Man Versus Microbes, by NICHOLAS KOPELOFF. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, 305 pages.

Doctor Kopeloff's book is one of the finest of its type which has come to the reviewer's notice. It is brief but inclusive, written in a clear easy flowing style, and has the weight of authority which is founded upon well-trained scientific knowledge. The book treats the subject of bacteriology as a whole and as this science is related to man and his life, both biological and economic. It is the type of book which one reads for pleasure as well as reliable information. It is a text which lends itself very well to teaching, especially for the biologist who wishes to present the subject of bacteriology interestingly so that his lay students can get an appreciation of what "germs" are in the scheme of things.

Microbes are considered generally and specifically. Their relation to disease in plants, animals, and man are dealt with interestingly. Their place in industry and economics are handled with skill. The ultramicroscopic world and its denizens is touched upon with stimulating effect.

This reviewer feels that here is a book which can be recommended by the physician to patients who have intelligence and an inquiring mind. It is one which can be read by any one who wishes to know something about bacteriology without becoming a bacteriologist. Technical language has been deleted but authenticity has not been sacrificed. This is an excellent book.

SHAILER U. LAWTON

The Teaching of Home Economics, by CLARA M. BROWN and ALICE H. HALEY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, 395 pages.

This book may well serve its purpose as a guide to present-day thinking in terms of the organization and presentation of home-economics subjects in various types of schools and classes. It is of special value to the teacher in training although the supervisor and experienced teacher will find much suggestive material of value to their work. The organization of the book is especially commendable. It is clear and concise dealing directly with principles of subject-matter organization, classroom procedure, measuring results and integration with other courses, as well as giving helpful suggestions on the choice of equipment and illustrative material.

Stimulating questions and representative references close each chapter. One is led to do independent thinking in solving one's problems.

The several methods used in the presentation of home-economics subject matter are discussed. Pertinent examples are introduced throughout the book which aid the beginner materially in meeting his own teaching problem.

One could not read the book without appreciating the worth-while material given in the appendix such as specimen score cards for meal preparation, suggestive unit instruction sheets, and lists of sources from which one may obtain helpful material.

This stimulating presentation of up-to-date material is a valuable contribution to home-economics education.

FREDA J. GERWIN WINNING

Clothing for Women, by LAURA I. BALDT. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1929, 552 pages.

Teachers, students of dress design, and the homemaker alike will delight in using this revised edition of a text long known for its completeness in presenting details of dressmaking. This book presents not only the technical side of good dressmaking but also those principles of selecting the best color, material, and line for individual purpose.

Its nine color plates and three hundred and sixty-seven illustrations aid the worker in using the most up-to-date methods in construction processes. In particularly helpful and novel drawings of these processes, red lines are used to indicate stitching.

These processes are not confined to such as are used on women's clothing alone as the title might suggest but include such as are used in the home on clothing for all the members of the family from the youngest infant to father.

The chapters on drafting and draping of individual patterns are especially helpful. The illustrations of styles which are the mode

today may seem a bit old-fashioned in a few years for after all fashion is fickle. However, the principles of design and construction here set forth will be of more lasting value.

FREDA J. GERWIN WINNING

Everyman's Book of Flying, by ORVILLE H. KNEEN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1930. Second edition, 406 pages.

The average high-school boy has now progressed so far in his knowledge of things aeronautical that he is no longer interested in a book setting forth elementary principles. For some time, he has been looking for something different in aeronautical literature; it is my impression that his desire will be satisfied with *Everyman's Book of Flying*.

This book might be described as of secondary grade in the subject and yet not so technical as to prove discouraging to the boy and girl of high-school age. Encyclopedic in scope, it is nevertheless, sufficiently in detail to give the reader an accurate knowledge of the airplane, aircraft instruments, navigation, meteorology, engines, construction details, servicing, and repairing. It contains a very thought-provoking chapter entitled "Jobs in Aviation." Many of the more recent developments in aviation have been discussed in this second edition.

ROLAND H. SPAULDING

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

EASTERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
April 25 and 26, 1931

Saturday afternoon, April 25, 2.00 p. m.

General subject: The Nature and Scope of Sociology.

Papers by: Professor Theodore Abel, Columbia University
Professor Maurice R. Davie, Yale University
Professor Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University

Saturday evening, April 25, 6.30 p. m.

Annual Dinner—after which members assembled in the ballroom of the club for a business session and the following addresses:

Professor H. P. Fairchild, New York University, presiding
Presidential Address, by Professor F. H. Hankins, Smith College
"Occupational Balance," by Professor T. N. Carver, Harvard University
"The Measurement of Civilization," by Professor Ellsworth Huntington, Yale University

Sunday morning, April 26, 9.30 a. m.

Reports on Current Researches—Mr. Robert S. Lynd, permanent secretary, Social Science Research Council, presiding.

"Investigation of Social Backgrounds," by Dr. Mildred Parten, Yale Institute of Human Relations

"Some Aspects of Social-Legal Research," by Dr. Dorothy Thomas, Yale Institute of Human Relations

"The Work of the Yale Institute," by Professor Mark A. May, executive secretary

"The Family and Personality Adjustments," by Mr. Lawrence Frank, chairman, Committee on the Family, Social Science Research Council

"Divorce and Family Desertion," by Professor L. C. Marshall, The Institute of Law, Johns Hopkins University.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Dr. A. O. Bowden, president of New Mexico State Teachers College, is a graduate of the University of Kentucky. He received his A.B. in 1908 and his A.M. in 1910 from the State University of Kentucky; his A.M. from Harvard in 1912, and his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1928. President Bowden has had considerable experience as principal and superintendent of schools in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Montana. He held a professorship of education and philosophy at Baylor College before coming to his present position in 1922.

Professor J. Frank Day received his A.B. from the University of Utah and his A.M. and Ed.D. from the University of California. He has had wide experience as a high-school principal and county superintendent of schools in Utah. Formerly, Professor Day was director of education at the Territorial Normal School, Honolulu, T. H., and at present is dean of the faculty and director of the School of Education at the Armstrong College of Business Administration, Berkeley, California.

Dr. Ross Finney is assistant professor of educational sociology, School of Education, University of Minnesota. Professor Finney is a westerner by birth, training, and experience. His training was received at Upper Iowa, Northwestern, Chicago, and Boston Universities and received his doctorate from the latter. For a number of years he was a minister in the Methodist Church in Minnesota. He held teaching positions at Illinois Wesleyan and North Dakota State Normal before going to his present location in 1919. Dr. Finney is the author of several books.

Mr. Kenneth H. McGill holds an A.B. degree from the University of Nebraska. He was a principal in the Nebraska public high schools for a five-year period, but is now at the University of Chicago working towards a doctorate in sociology. His interest in educational sociology and in stereotypes arose while he was a high-school administrator.

Mr. Will R. Reeves received his training as organist and choral conductor in New York City and London. He was deputy scoutmaster at Yonkers, New York; army song leader, Camp Beauregard, La.; community song leader in Cincinnati; secretary of the War Camp Community Service, Cincinnati; and executive secretary, Cincinnati Community Service. At present Mr. Reeves is director of Public Recreation Commission in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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